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MARSHALL, JUDY. A Rhetorical Analysis of Logos, Pathos and Ethos in Selected Speeches of Terry Sanford. (1972) Directed by: Dr. Thomas Tedford. Pp. 152

On February 4, 1960, Terry Sanford announced his candidacy for the governorship of North Carolina. This step, the result of fourteen years of strategic career planning, brought Sanford into regional prominence and gave him the opportunity to enunciate the ambitious educational plan with which he has been consistently associated. His successful bid for governor was followed by a vigorous campaign on behalf of the first major legislation of his administration, the B Budget Request. The passage of this budget request assured the implementation of that progressive educational program outlined in his campaign for governor. Most of Sanford's accomplishments are embodied in the B Budget Request. This study focuses on the B Budget Request campaign and specifically on six selected speeches that are representative of Sanford's style and strategy.

The study applies Aristotelian principles of artistic proof, i.e., logos, pathos and ethos, to the six selected speeches of Terry Sanford. The first half of Chapter II begins with a discussion of logos, including an examination of the principle devices of logical proof. In the second half of Chapter II these criteria are applied to Sanford's speeches. The third chapter begins by establishing Aristotle's concept of emotional appeal (pathos) and the modern adaptations of this concept which are used in the analysis of Sanford's speeches. The second half of the chapter provides the analysis. The fourth chapter follows the plan established in Chapters II and III. It begins with a discussion

of Aristotle's theory of ethos, moves into a discussion of modern treatments of the subject of ethos, and concludes by applying the established criteria to the selected speeches. The final chapter states the conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing discussion.

Sanford's key proposition for the campaign, and thus for each of the selected speeches is that quality education can be achieved by his plan. In support of this proposition, he develops three main lines of argument which are used either directly or indirectly in six speeches. The three lines of argument are built around (1) need, (2) plan, and (3) benefits. Although the lines of argument were developed inductively, there was only one speech in which all three issues were constructed by induction. Deductive reasoning was also used in the structuring of his lines of argument; however, there was only one speech that contained enthymematic development for all three lines of argument. Sanford used evidence to support both his need and plan issues. Six speeches contained statistics, three speeches contained testimony and two speeches contained examples.

Sanford employed the following five motive appeals in all three of his speech parts: (1) fear, (2) family life, (3) patriotism; (4) social responsibility and (5) fair play. The central result of Sanford's use of emotional proof is to create an impression of crisis. His emotional images are used to indicate the immediate danger of the educational crisis that is facing the state. Sanford is strong in his use of ethical proof. His good character, sagacity, and good will are revealed in all sections of his speeches. Sanford is particularly effective in establishing good will during the introductions of his speeches.

A RHETORICAL ANALYSIS OF LOGOS, PATHOS
AND ETHOS IN SELECTED SPEECHES
OF TERRY SANFORD

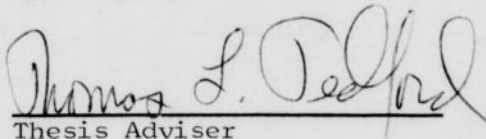
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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

On February 4, 1960, Terry Sanford announced his candidacy for the governorship of North Carolina. This step, the result of fourteen years of strategic career planning, brought Sanford into regional prominence and gave him the opportunity to enunciate the ambitious educational plan with which he has been consistently associated. His successful bid for governor was followed by a vigorous campaign on behalf of the first major legislation of his administration, the B Budget Request. The passage of this budget request assured the implementation of that progressive educational program outlined in his campaign for governor. The program, clarified and elaborated, has become a model for other states and has made Sanford a national figure in education. Former President Lyndon Johnson described Sanford as "one of America's greatest governors,"¹ an observation that seems appropriate in light of the accomplishments of his administration. He increased the North Carolina budget fifty percent, consolidated the state universities, created a system of community colleges, designed programs for the retarded, gifted and culturally deprived and established the first state anti-poverty

¹"Sanford Rules Out Possibility of Elective Office in 1972," Greensboro Daily News, December 14, 1969, Sec. B, p. 1.

agency in America. When he retired from his official post as governor at the age of forty-seven, the Charlotte Observer stated that he has "stretched to its practical political limits the capacity of North Carolina's government to foster improvements in the lives of people."²

Most of these accomplishments are embodied in the B Budget Request; therefore, an examination of this Budget and the campaign waged for its adoption is of special interest. Thus, this study will focus on the B Budget Request campaign and specifically on six selected speeches that are representative of Sanford's style and strategy. These addresses are chosen from the nineteen speeches on education that Sanford delivered during the ninety-day campaign period. Sanford himself describes the six speeches as the most important of the campaign.³ Additionally, they are united by their common theme, the necessity for increased taxation to support an improved educational system. The consistency of subject matter provides an excellent opportunity for studying Sanford's use of artistic proof. Before beginning the analysis, it will be useful to consider Sanford's background and those forces important in shaping his interest in education and his career as a public figure.

²Terry Sanford, "The New Era Ahead for Your State," Nation's Business, July, 1965, p. 56.

³Terry Sanford, private interview held at Duke University, Durham, North Carolina, August 24, 1970.

Terry Sanford was born on August 20, 1917 in Laurinburg, North Carolina. His father, Cecil, was an independent merchant and realtor in Laurinburg and his mother, Elizabeth, was a public school teacher. Sanford received his elementary and secondary education in Laurinburg city schools. It was during these early years that Sanford recalls his first political activity. The eleven-year-old boy carried a sign announcing "Me and Ma is for Al" in a local parade supporting Al Smith for president.⁴ Sanford states that this incident was more of a lark than an expression of serious political commitment, but he regards it as an indication of early political interest.⁵

Upon graduation from Laurinburg High School, Sanford attended one semester at Presbyterian Junior College, Maxton, North Carolina, before transferring to the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. While he was a student at Chapel Hill, Sanford evidenced both the social concern and continuing interest in political action that characterizes his later career. Under the sponsorship of the Red Cross, he established a fresh air camp for underprivileged children. He was also involved in student government as a member of student legislature and served as president of his dormitory.

⁴Sam Ragan, ed., The New Day (Zebulon: Record Publishing Co., 1964), p. 85.

⁵Sanford, interview.

When he graduated in 1939 he accepted a job with the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Shortly thereafter he married Margaret Rose Knight, like his mother, a school teacher. After serving as a paratrooper in World War II, Sanford returned to Chapel Hill Law School. While studying law he continued his interest in young people by assisting in the Boys' State Program. Upon graduation from law school in 1946, he accepted a position as assistant director for the Institute of Government at Chapel Hill. Sanford left this post two years later to go into private practice in Fayetteville, North Carolina. At this point, Sanford's political aspirations began to take definite shape: "From the first, I wanted to be Governor and every step I took was in that direction."⁶ Sanford's thoughtful career planning included activities in the church and in public and civic organizations. He became a trustee for Methodist College and participated in Masons, Shriners, Rotary Club, and Junior Chamber of Commerce.

In 1949 he took a substantial step toward his avowed goal when he campaigned successfully for the presidency of the Young Democratic Club of North Carolina. Two years later he was elected state senator for Cumberland County. Sanford's next important political advancement occurred when he became Kerr Scott's state campaign manager for the 1954 United States Senate election. Nine years after his first major political move (his

⁶Jack Star, "Terry Sanford," Look, June, 1962, p. 54h.

election as president of the state's Young Democratic Club), Sanford began a quiet but active preparation for the 1960 gubernatorial campaign. It was during this campaign that Sanford crystalized his interest in education and politics. An important dimension to Sanford's political career was his training as a public speaker.

His ability as a speaker, like his interest in a political career, was developed over a number of years in both formal and informal speaking situations. Sanford's first formal speech training occurred at the University of North Carolina in a speech course he took during his junior or senior year. During this time his work with the Fresh Air Camp involved him in several informal speaking situations. However, Sanford recalls that "I think I was virtually out of college before I ever made any speeches to amount to anything."⁷ When he returned to Chapel Hill Law School, he participated in no additional speech training, but he has suggested that the discipline of a legal education was of some significance to his development as a speaker: " . . . I think that you do get the kind of training [in law school] that causes you to be logical in your approach to defining a problem and seeking a solution."⁸ His participation in the Boy's State

⁷ Sanford, interview.

⁸ Ibid.

program once again provided him with informal and impromptu speaking opportunities.

Sanford's final experience with formal speech training came while he was assistant director with the Institute of Government in Chapel Hill. He attended a public speaking course taught by Earl Wynn at Chapel Hill's Communication School. This course was concerned with those skills particularly related to television and radio and included a good deal of work in voice and diction. It was Wynn who encouraged Sanford to preserve the Southern dialect in his voice and communication. Sanford continued to have informal speaking experiences as a young lawyer in Fayetteville. When he became Kerr Scott's campaign manager in 1954, he put all his previous speaking experience, both formal and informal, to use. He received practice not only in managing campaign strategy, but also in writing speeches. Sanford acknowledged that his later speaking style was conditioned by the requirements of this early experience:

I came into the [political] active part of my career when television was just coming in, in Scott's campaign in '54 for the Senate. . . . When talking to television, you had to remember that you were talking to people and it was a different technique because you were not talking to an audience, where you had to reach a person in the back row. . . . Obviously bear in mind that you were not making a speech, but you were talking to somebody.⁹

The relaxed and informal speaking style that characterizes Sanford was thus fully developed by the time of the 1960

⁹Ibid.

campaign; however, it was only one factor in his ultimate success. By this time he had also established himself as a political force of considerable importance and had begun to create a favorable audience for the far reaching education proposals which formed the backbone of this campaign. It is appropriate at this point to examine Sanford's political position at the time of the 1960 campaign and the issues of that campaign.

1960 Gubernatorial Campaign

One of the major strengths of the democratic campaign organization for the 1960 campaign was the diversity of groups and interests to which it could appeal for support. This diversity can be seen by comparing the broad foundation of financial support Sanford called upon with the considerably more limited foundation of support available to the G.O.P. Sanford's campaign cost was reported as \$97,726.82. This amount was donated by more than 10,000 individuals as opposed to the G.O.P. expenditure of \$88,403.00 defrayed by approximately 400 individuals.¹⁰ These figures are not surprising considering the fact that North Carolina is predominately a Democrat state and that the Democrat Party has provided state governors for the last sixty years.

¹⁰Roy Parker, Jr., "Report to the People," The News and Observer, November 1, 1960, p. 1.

A consideration of the various sources that provided support for Sanford's campaign is most revealing. Among these sources are the early business and financial contacts that Sanford made as president of the Young Democrats and as a young lawyer in Fayetteville. In fact, his law firm listed among its clients a number of the state's largest corporations. While practicing law in Fayetteville, Sanford was a director of the North Carolina Natural Gas Corporation and the First National Life Insurance Company.¹¹ He was even reported to have far more contacts among the state's businessmen than had Kerr Scott.¹² The political organization inherited from Kerr Scott provided a major element in his own organization. As Jay Jenkins observed:

The 1954 campaign gave Sanford a ringside seat in rough-and-tumble politics. It provided him contacts in all of the 100 counties. These political friendships gave him a nucleus of a statewide organization.¹³

Naturally, his position as party head brought him the traditional support of such wealthy democrats as millionaire Charles Cannon of the Cannon Mills empire and many leaders of

¹¹Jay Jenkins, "Governor Race Paced by Sanford," The Charlotte Observer, August 23, 1959, Sec. A, p. 2.

¹²"Attorney May Be Fayetteville Entry," Greensboro Daily News, January 10, 1960, Sec. D, p. 1.

¹³Jenkins, "Governor Race Paced by Sanford," Sec. A, p. 2.

organized labor in the state.¹⁴ He could also call upon the loyalty of a substantial number of the state's 30,000 employees. Republicans, in fact, criticized the distribution of a leaflet to these employees on behalf of the candidate. Sanford was even accused of threatening jobs in order to solicit funds, an accusation which he himself denied.¹⁵

The most surprising avenue of support, however, was acquired midstream during the 1960 campaign. Sanford took a calculated risk and nominated John Kennedy as the democratic candidate for president at the Los Angeles convention. At this time state sentiment was largely pro Lyndon Johnson and anti John Kennedy. Sanford gained public support from the Kennedy organization through their spokesman Robert Kennedy and was even accused by the Republican party of switching his allegiance in order to gain financial backing. He denied these rumors and they were never substantiated. Sanford justified his change by expressing his conviction that Kennedy was a winner, a conviction that turned out to be prophetic.¹⁶

With his political machine established, Sanford could turn his attention to the principle issues of his campaign.

¹⁴Guy Munger, "Sanford Termed Man on the Go," Greensboro Daily News, May 18, 1960, Sec. A, p. 1.

¹⁵Jenkins, "Governor Race Paced by Sanford," Sec. A, p. 2.

¹⁶Drew Pearson, "He's Convinced Sanford Got No Kennedy Money," The News and Observer, August 20, 1960, Sec. A, p. 1.

The most important of these issues turned out to be the needs of public education in North Carolina. The emergence of the education issue was not solely Sanford's responsibility but was the result of historical forces that made education a vital concern of the 1960's. An examination of the history of public education in North Carolina is important to an understanding of the 1960 campaign and Sanford's later Budget campaign.

According to the League of Women Voters, "In the period from the Revolution to the Civil War in North Carolina, the development of the ideal of public education was slow, though it began early and grew steadily."¹⁷ Prior to the Revolution, the schools in North Carolina were supported primarily by church groups. In 1789 the University of North Carolina was chartered, and in 1839 by act of the legislature, a public school system supported by the state was begun. This law declared that school taxes were to be assessed by public vote, that schools were to be divided into county districts and that school superintendents were to be elected within each county. The Civil War practically destroyed the state's school system since most of the schools were closed for lack of funds. Two significant statutes, however, were enacted shortly after the war; in 1868 the Office of Superintendent of Public Instruction was created and in 1869 the law

¹⁷League of Women Voters of North Carolina, A Study of the North Carolina Educational System through the Secondary Level--Part I (Asheville, N. C.: League of Women Voters of N. C., 1967-68), p. 2.

of 1839 was reinforced. The state's educational system made a substantial advance, following the election of Charles Brantly Aycock as governor in 1900. Aycock formed a campaign committee for education which immediately set to work reforming the state system. The number of school districts was increased from twenty-seven to eighty-one, a process of consolidation was instituted, and 676 new school houses were constructed. The depression caused a breakdown of the tax structure in North Carolina and in 1931 the general assembly was forced to assume the financial support of public education, a responsibility it still holds. A final statewide revival occurred in the 1950's when the federal government began to offer massive support for education.¹⁸

At the time of the 1960 gubernatorial campaign, education in the state suffered from lack of interest and support. Some 3,588 teaching positions remained vacant for the 1960 calendar year. The State Department of Public Instruction attributed this shortage to out-of-state attractions which drew 2,370 qualified teachers out of the approximately 4,170 graduated from North Carolina colleges.¹⁹ Concurrent with the teacher shortage, the state also needed over 3,000 new classrooms to accommodate an increase in school population of 28,000 students.²⁰ In

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 2-4.

¹⁹"North Carolina Teacher Shortage Poses Problem," News and Observer, August 7, 1960, p. 18.

²⁰"State Needs 3,445 More Classrooms," News and Observer (Raleigh), August 9, 1960, p. 20.

addition to these problems the quality of state education was markedly low. About half of the high schools were accredited by the Southern Association of Secondary Schools and secondary school facilities were generally termed inadequate.²¹

From this brief history, one can see that by the 1960 campaign, education in North Carolina was in such a serious condition that it made an ideal political issue. Sanford observed that the state was ready for such an issue and he emerged as the candidate who capitalized on this public concern. The movement for educational reform was already underway and Sanford showed himself uniquely sensitive to his constituents' needs. He promised that "quality education was the rock upon which I will build my administration."²² His progressive platform was founded upon the need for developing the human resources he felt lay wasted within the state.²³ As Sanford observed: "It is through education that government lifts to a more civilized state the people it serves, and serves in a more civilized way the idea that gives it life."²⁴

As early as August 23, 1959, newspaper accounts suggested education as the principle issue of the 1960 campaign.²⁵ Sanford's

²¹"Many High Schools in State Not Accredited, Official Says," News and Observer (Raleigh), August 3, 1960, p. 5.

²²Ragan, The New Day, p. 2.

²³Terry Sanford, But What about the People (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1966), p. 13.

²⁴Ibid., p. 166.

²⁵Jenkins, "Governor's Race Paced by Sanford," Sec. A, p.2.

platform theme became "a new day for achievement in a new day for opportunities."²⁶ Guy Munger of the Greensboro Daily News tagged Sanford's platform as "probably the most ambitious program--efforts to improve public schools, better highways and all-out efforts to develop agriculture and industry."²⁷ Time suggested that this political platform appealed to the city folks, labor unions, Piedmont bankers, textile manufacturers and Negro voters.²⁸ The major issue which developed within the platform was, of course, the need for improvement of educational opportunities. Sanford campaigned for quality education, which he defined as "that type of education that will teach our children how to think."²⁹ He urged that "children must make the magic step from memorizing or repeating to creating."³⁰ Therefore, he offered a nine-point platform in which the primary responsibility was assumed by the state. He warned his public that such a program would require financing and probably increased taxation. The platform itself consisted of the following provisions: (1) upgrading of teacher qualifications; (2) increased

²⁶Guy Munger, "Sanford to Campaign for Post of Governor," Greensboro Daily News, February 5, 1960, Sec. A, p. 5.

²⁷Guy Munger, "Top Candidate Ready, Raring for Run-off," Greensboro Daily News, May 29, 1960, Sec. A, p. 13.

²⁸"Mandate for Moderation," Time, July, 1960, p. 15.

²⁹"Quality Education Urged," News and Observer (Raleigh), September 2, 1960, p. 20.

³⁰"Paths of Sanford, Gavin, Cross," News and Observer (Raleigh), October 4, 1960, p. 6.

flexibility in subject matter; (3) continuing educational research; (4) increasing tax revenue; (5) improving school facilities; (6) merit pay increases; (7) reduction of classroom sizes; (8) fostering an atmosphere of respect for the teacher; and (9) creating a balanced educational economy.³¹

Sanford adopted the proposal put forward by the United Forces for Education as the method of financing his program. This proposal asked for a \$100,000,000 increase for public schools in the 1961-1963 biennium. This increase would raise the per pupil expenditure by \$45.00 and would raise salaries by 21.81 percent.³² The Raleigh News and Observer noted that a \$55,000,000 surplus in the state's treasury made Sanford's promise easier to keep.³³

Sanford publicized his "New Day" platform during an intensive campaign schedule. Newspapers characterized him as "jet-propelled" and his campaign image capitalized on the slogan "a man on the go for a state on the go."³⁴ His efforts began with a whirlwind tour of all 100 North Carolina counties preceding his announcement as a candidate.³⁵ The pace established during this preliminary period set the tone for the upcoming race

³¹Sanford, But What about the People, pp. 17-18.

³²"Many High Schools in State not Accredited, Official Says," News and Observer (Raleigh), August 3, 1960, p. 5.

³³Roy Parker, Jr., "State's Balance is 42.5 Million," News and Observer (Raleigh), August 5, 1960, p. 1.

³⁴Munger, "Sanford Termed Man on the Go," Sec. A, p. 1.

³⁵Jenkins, "Governor's Race Paced by Sanford," Sec. A, p. 2.

and although extensive use was made of newspapers, radio and television, his major strategy consisted of handshaking, tours, rallies and barbeques.³⁶ The campaign itself included carefully prepared TV spots, singing, commercials and twice-weekly press conferences.³⁷ These efforts culminated in success and Sanford had been in the capitol only sixty days when on March 6, 1961 he delivered his Special Budget Message on education before a joint session of the general assembly. This proposed budget aimed to translate Sanford's education platform into action and to introduce a vigorous campaign to secure its adoption.

1961 B Budget Campaign

On launching his ninety-day, state-wide effort to secure public approval of his budget, Sanford immediately identified himself with the earlier educational stand of Charles Brantly Aycock. He later testified to the importance of Aycock's influence in shaping his educational philosophy:

If I had a philosophy that could be summed up in a sentence or two, I was trying to redefine Governor Aycock's call for universal education by which he meant a schoolhouse of sorts in every community and by which I wanted to define it as meaning that we didn't miss any children and that we didn't overlook any talents that any of the children had.³⁸

³⁶Munger, "Top Candidate Ready, Raring for Run-off," Sec. A, p. 13.

³⁷Munger, "Sanford Termed Man on the Go," Sec. A, p. 1.

³⁸Sanford, interview.

He further felt that all elementary school children should be taught basic skills, but that, in addition, they should have the advantage of individual attention. He believed this individual attention was not being provided for three basic reasons:

(1) overcrowded classrooms, (2) outmoded teaching techniques, and (3) "lack of any real interest in doing anything but an ordinary job."³⁹

Faced with the problem of financing his ambitious program, Sanford proposed an elimination of sales tax exemptions. He explained that such a move would derive \$50,000,000 from a new tax on food.⁴⁰ Despite its unpopularity, he felt this tax to be the fairest means of raising revenue:

If we tax bread, we also will be taxing cake; if we tax fatback, we also will tax caviar; if we tax corn meal, we also tax fillet mignon. . . . No one is going to go hungry because of this tax. . . . But the children of North Carolina will go thirsty for quality education if we do not enact this program for better schools.⁴¹

The \$50,000,000 food tax, amounting to a thirty cent tax on every \$10.00 worth of food, would be supplemented by an additional \$33,000,000 through the elimination of other sales tax exemptions. Of this \$83,000,000, \$70,000,000 would be allocated to the Advisory Budget Commission for use in the public schools, and

³⁹Ibid.

⁴⁰Terry Sanford, "Report to the People," address presented on state-wide television network, originating from Raleigh studio of WUNC-TV, Thursday, March 23, 1961.

⁴¹Ragan, The New Day, p. 9.

\$13,000,000 would be used for the consolidated university, mental hospitals, department of public welfare and highway department.⁴²

Sanford and his supporters, aware that promoting this new tax would be difficult, feared a serious party split.⁴³ An extensive campaign, therefore, was aimed at the legislature itself. Sanford closeted himself with the legislators, "morning after morning, over red-eye gravy at the mansion, day after day over coffee at the capitol and night after night over cigars back at the mansion."⁴⁴ At the same time women in the state were recruited for the campaign. Local PTA groups printed posters to explain the tax and every woman crusader received information about the weaknesses and needs of education. This information, in book form, contained one hundred post cards to be mailed to Sanford giving the names and addresses of each voter with whom the school issue had been discussed.⁴⁵

In addition to this technique, Sanford delivered nineteen speeches over the three-month period which were pleas for quality education. These speeches covered a variety of topics, including taxation, the role of education and parent-teacher responsibilities. As previously stated, six of these speeches have been selected for rhetorical analysis because they deal

⁴²Sanford, "Report to the People."

⁴³Sanford, But What about the People, p. 25.

⁴⁴Memory F. Mitchell, ed., Messages, Addresses and Public Papers of Terry Sanford (Raleigh: Council of State, State of North Carolina, 1966), p. xxvi.

⁴⁵Ibid.

specifically with taxation, the major issue of the campaign. In these speeches one can clearly identify recurring techniques of persuasion which characterize Sanford's use of the Aristotelian modes of proof, and it is these techniques that will provide the focus for the following discussion. These speeches were made during a period from March 6 to May 4, 1961. Two were delivered over state-wide television, two were presented at educational rallies, one was given at a school dedication, and one at a convention.

The texts of the speeches studied are press releases compiled by North Carolina's Department of Archives and History. Sanford himself supports the authenticity of the texts and suggests that they are representative of his speaking technique.⁴⁶

The Aristotelian Theory of Rhetoric

Before beginning a discussion of the six selected speeches of Terry Sanford, it will be necessary to consider briefly the criteria of Aristotelian rhetorical criticism that will form the foundation of the subsequent analysis. Donald Bryant suggests that the Aristotelian school of rhetorical criticism "regards a speech as a communication to a specific audience and holds its business to be the analysis and appreciation of the orator's method of imparting his ideas to his hearers."⁴⁷ Although the

⁴⁶Sanford, interview.

⁴⁷A. Craig Baird, Lester Thonssen, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 273.

classical rhetorical standards are actually a composite of the theories of Plato, Aristotle, Cicero and Quintilian, nevertheless, two works are of particular importance in this school, viz., Aristotle's Rhetoric and the Rhetorica ad Herennium.

Aristotle's treatise on rhetoric has been considered the most important single endeavor in the history of rhetorical theory.⁴⁸ This work is divided into three sections: Book I concerns itself with the speaker, Book II concerns itself with the audience and Book III concerns itself with the speech. In Book I rhetoric is defined as "the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."⁴⁹ The remainder of the book concerns itself with a concept which the Roman rhetoricians later designated as "invention." The inventive process consists of a thorough investigation into the total speaking situation including the speaker, the audience and the speech. Book II considers the way in which certain emotions within the speech affect the judgment of the listeners. The final book is devoted to delivery, style and organization.⁵⁰

The second major influence on classical rhetorical thought and criticism is the Rhetorica ad Herennium. This work, the earliest Latin treatise on rhetoric, has been

⁴⁸Ibid., p. 63.

⁴⁹Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated by Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. 7.

⁵⁰John F. Wilson and Carroll C. Arnold, Public Speaking as a Liberal Art (Boston: Allyn and Bacon, Inc., 1968), pp. 26-27.

variously attributed to Cicero and Cornificius.⁵¹ It provided a practical handbook for the construction of speeches and was, like Aristotle's Rhetoric, divided into books. Book I discusses the principle parts of rhetoric: inventio, dispositio, elocutio, memoria and pronuntiatio. These five categories of rhetoric discussed within Book I comprise what is generally regarded as the classical canons of rhetoric. Invention, organization, style, memory and delivery were the distinctive skills that must be mastered by the effective orator. Invention, as has been noted, refers to the attempt by the orator to investigate his subject in order to find suitable arguments for rhetorical effect. Dispositio refers to the logical arrangement of the discourses, i.e., the speech should be arranged into its logical parts: exordium, narration, proof and peroration. Elocutio refers generally to those stylistic features of the discourses such as level of diction, word choice and sentence structure. Memoria refers to the importance of memorization, an important aspect of oratory since the speaker was expected to master all his material in sequential order. Pronuntiatio or delivery concerns such things as expression, voice quality and gesture.⁵²

⁵¹Baird, Thonssen, Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.), p. 85.

⁵²John A. Rycenga and Joseph Schwartz, eds., The Province of Rhetoric (New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1965), pp. 139-140.

From the five classical canons just mentioned, this discussion will concentrate on the canon of invention using Aristotle's definition of rhetoric as "the faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."⁵³ For it is the discovery of "these means of persuasion" that constitutes the inventive process. A. Craig Baird defines invention as the "investigation, analysis and grasp of the subject matter."⁵⁴ James McCroskey expands this definition by suggesting that invention is the "discovery of what particular ideas are most likely to be helpful to the communicator in achieving his intended purpose with the audience."⁵⁵

Rhetoric is considered to be a counterpart of dialectic. Dialectic and rhetoric differ as modes of thought in that dialectic is founded upon certainties and rhetoric upon probabilities. As modes of utterance, they also differ in that dialectic is an abstract method of study whereas rhetoric is a concrete method of communication.⁵⁶ Rhetoric is a universal art used in the production of discourse.⁵⁷ As stated earlier, Aristotle defines

⁵³Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 7.

⁵⁴A. C. Baird, Rhetoric; A Philosophical Inquiry (New York: The Ronald Press, 1965), p. 15.

⁵⁵James C. McCroskey, An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication (New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), p. 117.

⁵⁶Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 1.

⁵⁷W. Ross Winterowd, Rhetoric: A Synthesis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 19.

rhetoric as the "faculty of discovering in the particular case what are the available means of persuasion."⁵⁸ Ross Winterowd states in Rhetoric: A Synthesis:

This art of "discovery" is also an analytical art; indeed, Aristotle tells us that "it is the office of one and the same art to discern the genuine means, and also the spurious means of persuasion." The art of rhetoric is a dual instrument--a means of building effective discourse, but also a means of systematically dismantling it to gain understanding of how it is constructed.⁵⁹

Rhetoric, the practical art, may be used to maintain the superiority of truth and justice. Rhetoric is suited to popular audiences which would not understand scientific demonstration. This art teaches one to see both sides of the situation and to reject unfair arguments and it may be employed for self defense.

In rhetoric Aristotle distinguishes the means of persuasion or proofs as being non-artistic and artistic. Non-artistic proofs are those proofs that existed beforehand and are intrinsic to the subject itself, i.e., factual evidence such as witnesses, contracts and confessions. But Aristotle focuses attention upon the artistic or invented proofs, viz., logos, pathos and ethos (the term "invented proofs" should not be confused with the general term inventio used earlier). Here, artistic proofs refer to those proofs that "may be furnished by the method of rhetoric through our own efforts. The first sort

⁵⁸Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 7.

⁵⁹Winterowd, Rhetoric: A Synthesis, p. 20.

have only to be used; the second have to be found."⁶⁰ The first type of artistic proof, logos, functions by convincing the audience of the superiority of the argument itself. It is based upon the effective use of logical structure within each individual argument.⁶¹ The second type of proof, pathos, works by manipulating the emotions of the audience. Three considerations in particular affect these emotions: "the circumstances (a frame of mind) in which [they are] felt; the persons toward whom [they are] felt; and the things that arouse [them]."⁶² The final type of artistic proof, ethos, persuades by creating an impression of the speaker's intelligence, character and good will.⁶³

The remainder of this study proposes to apply the principles of artistic proof, i.e., logos, pathos and ethos, to the six selected speeches of Terry Sanford. The first half of Chapter II will begin with a discussion of logos, including an examination of the principle devices of logical proof. In the second half of Chapter II, these criteria are applied to Sanford's speeches. At this time, his speech proposition, lines of argument, reasoning and evidence will be analyzed. The third chapter begins by establishing Aristotle's concept of emotional appeal and the modern adaptations of this concept which are used in the analysis

⁶⁰Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 8.

⁶¹Ibid., p. 9.

⁶²Ibid., p. xlii

⁶³Ibid., p. 8.

of Sanford's speeches. The second half of the chapter provides such an analysis. The fourth chapter follows the plan established in Chapter II and III. It begins with a discussion of Aristotle's theory of ethos, moves into a discussion of modern treatments of the subject of ethos and concludes by applying certain established criteria to the selected speeches. The final chapter states the conclusions that can be drawn from the foregoing discussions.

CHAPTER II

LOGOS

Standards for Analysis

Rhetoric, as mentioned in Chapter I, is considered to be a counterpart of dialectic.¹ Dialectic and rhetoric differ as modes of thought in that dialectic is founded upon certainties and rhetoric upon probabilities. As modes of utterance, they also differ in that dialectic is an abstract method of study whereas rhetoric is a concrete method of communication.² Both disciplines are used to make truth prevail, and the major distinction between dialectic and rhetoric lies in the typical use to which proof is put; for rhetoric involves the application of proof to the persuasion of an audience, whereas dialectic involves the abstract study of such proof.³ Inductive and deductive proofs are similar concepts within these disciplines, but they are used and interpreted differently. In dialectic, the term "induction" refers to the process of scientific demonstration. In the Rhetoric,

¹Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated by Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. 1.

²Charles Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 8.

³Ibid., p. 9.

Aristotle uses the term specifically to mean the typical example, a form of proof. In dialectic, the vehicle of scientific reasoning is the syllogism, whereas in rhetoric the enthymeme is the form of deductive proof. The syllogism is a complete form which includes a major premise, minor premise and conclusion. The enthymeme is an incomplete syllogism in which one or more of the parts are truncated and the missing link is formed by the audience.⁴

Aristotle treats logos as one of the three types of proof, the others being pathos and ethos. Aristotle asserts that the example and enthymeme are the methods of logos. They provide the means of arguing an issue by evidence or logical necessity.⁵ Furthermore, Aristotle claims that there are two types of examples, the historical example which is an invented parallel from historical facts, and the fictitious example which is made up from comparisons and fables.⁶ The enthymeme, an incomplete syllogism, is an instrument of artistic proof used as the base of the argument. As previously stated, the focus in rhetoric is not on certainty but on the probable or possible, and through the use of the enthymeme one can bring about a decision concerning the probable. The two types of enthymemes

⁴Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic, p. 9.

⁵Ross Winterowd, Rhetoric: A Synthesis (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, Inc., 1968), p. 22.

⁶George Kennedy, The Art of Persuasion in Greece (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), p. 98.

are the demonstrative, which is concerned with conclusions drawn from consistent premises, and refutative, which draws upon inconsistent propositions and works out opposing arguments side by side with an apparent result.⁷

The concept of logos as artistic proof has maintained a prominent role in contemporary adaptations of Aristotle's rhetorical theory. Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird and Waldo Braden have suggested that the constituents of logical proof are argument or reasoning and evidence.⁸

The first important constituent of logos, argument, is considered by Thonssen, Baird and Braden to be a form of artistic proof. Patrick Marsh in Persuasive Speaking also adopts an Aristotelian view in his discussion of the argument. Marsh suggests that the complete logical processes of induction and deduction are too time consuming to be used with ordinary audiences, thus the speaker must incorporate rhetorical induction and deduction which appeal to the common sense and experience of the audience and directly involve the audience in the decision-making process.⁹ He is Aristotelian in his view that the example is the rhetorical counterpart to inductive reasoning, i.e., the inductive process "draws upon general conclusions from observations

⁷Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. XLIV.

⁸A. Craig Baird, Lester Thonssen, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 273.

⁹Patrick O. Marsh, Persuasive Speaking (New York: Harper and Row Publishers, 1967), p. 192.

of scientific instances."¹⁰ Marsh points out that the rhetorician has simplified the process by employing one or two examples to substantiate his generalization in order to hold audience attention. The number of examples vary and they may precede or follow the generalization.¹¹ The rhetorical counterpart to deduction is the enthymeme, which is defined by Marsh as a "rhetorical syllogism that finds its effectiveness in the incorporation of audience-held beliefs as premises, rather than being limited to the absolute universal premises required by the syllogism."¹² As long as one of the premises is drawn from audience belief, the enthymeme may assume the form of the categorical, hypothetical or disjunctive syllogism.

Thonssen, Baird and Braden are also much concerned with the problems of induction and deduction. They credit the modern scope of induction to Francis Bacon and suggest that it is based on specific materials, facts and events from which general conclusions are established.¹³ The inductive reasoning process contains three categories: (1) inferences from specific instances; (2) inferences by analogy; and (3) inferences from causal reasoning. In the first category, inferences from specific

¹⁰Ibid., p. 194.

¹¹Ibid., p. 195.

¹²Ibid., p. 192

¹³Thonssen, Baird and Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.), pp. 402-403.

instances, the generalization may either be founded upon specific instances, upon statistics or upon circumstantial details.

Concerning inferences by analogy, Thonssen, Baird and Braden state: "If [objects or agents] are alike in observable and verifiable details, then we conclude that they probably resemble each other in certain other respects accepted for one but not clearly verified for the other."¹⁴ As this statement suggests, if factual objects or agents are related in certain respects then inductive generalizations can be derived from the fact that they can also resemble each other in certain other ways. The final category, inferences by causal relation, is more basic than the other two types.

Arguments from causal relation establish links between particulars--by noting the impact or influence of one event upon another, or by tracing the cause of an observed event.¹⁵

The three types of inference by causation are from cause to effect, from effect to cause, and from effect to effect. The first type, reasoning from cause to effect, examines a series of circumstances and looks to the alleged conclusion. The second type, reasoning from effect to cause, observes a set of facts and attempts to explain the various causes of those facts. The final type, reasoning from effect to effect, discovers two or more effects which emerge from a common cause. The inductive

¹⁴Ibid., p. 404.

¹⁵Ibid., p. 406.

pattern of causal relation suggests or implies that an event occurs within an unbroken chain of a cause and effect.¹⁶

Thonssen, Baird and Braden credit deductive reasoning to Aristotle. Traditional logic or deduction is executed through the syllogism which contains a major premise, minor premise and conclusion drawn from these premises. The three forms of deductive reasoning are categorical, disjunctive and hypothetical. The categorical syllogism defines, classifies and asserts without qualification.¹⁷ Such a syllogism as the following would be considered a categorical syllogism:

Major Premise: All men die.

Minor Premise: John Smith is a man.

Conclusion: Therefore, John Smith will die.¹⁸

The disjunctive syllogism contains a major premise which outlines alternative possibilities; for example:

Either overproduction or underconsumption was responsible for the postwar depression.
Overproduction was not responsible.
Therefore, underconsumption was responsible for the postwar depression.¹⁹

The final type of syllogism is hypothetical and the principle assertion is conditioned:

¹⁶Ibid., p. 407.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 408.

¹⁸Ibid.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 409.

If world peace is to be achieved, the United Nations must be supported.
 World peace must be achieved
 Therefore, the United Nations must be supported.²⁰

Evidence, the second important constituent of logos, is the raw material used to establish proof. Testimony of individuals, personal experiences, tables of statistics, illustrative examples or any factual items constitute evidence when they "induce in the mind of the hearer or reader a state of belief--a tendency to affirm the existence of the fact or proposition to which the evidence attaches and in support of which it is introduced."²¹ The evidence used within the argument should serve as an adequate and valid substructure of reasoning. The validity of statistical evidence used within the argument depends upon the orator's wise choice of the statistical figures and his severity and accuracy in presenting the fact upon which the inferences are drawn. Evidence of a testimonial nature may be used by the speaker to establish his own credibility. Here the testimony of outside authorities is incorporated within his argument. The validity of testimony depends upon the speaker's consistency in the use of evidence; he should not contradict himself at any point within the speech. Most importantly, evidence is intended to persuade and should be selected and organized with that purpose in mind.²²

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Ibid., p. 399.

²²Ibid., pp. 400-402.

In summary, it can be seen that Marsh and Thonssen, Baird and Braden have retained the basic Aristotelian concepts, although these concepts have been redefined through modern interpretation. Basically, induction and deduction executed by the example and enthymeme as artistic proofs have remained consistent with the classical viewpoint. Hence, the view represented by Thonssen, Baird and Braden will be employed as the basis for analyzing the logical proof in the six selected speeches of Terry Sanford. First, the speaker's lines of argument will be examined. Second, the speaker's inductive arguments will be identified and third, his enthymemes will be converted into the complete syllogistic form. Having concluded the analysis of the arguments, the speaker's use of evidence will be outlined.

Logical Proof

Lines of Argument

Before the speaker's reasoning or evidence can be analyzed, the lines of argument on which they are based must be discovered. At this point, it will be necessary (1) to point out Sanford's speech proposition and (2) to examine the lines of argument that are subordinate to his proposition. The proposition contained in the selected speeches was provided from the underlying theme publicized in his campaign. Guy Munger in the May 18, 1960 newspaper account quotes Sanford: "Education is the dominant theme in this campaign and will be the dominant purpose of

our administration."²³ This quotation continues to imply that Sanford's nine-point educational platform will be based upon "quality education" which will be achieved through a long-ranged program supported primarily by the state.²⁴ The quote is concluded by Sanford as follows: ". . . more money will be needed and it includes the promise that I have the courage to ask for it."²⁵ The proposition that is indirectly stated in the selected speeches supports the contention that Sanford had decided upon the means by which the money would be provided, i.e., the B Budget Request. In four of the selected speeches, this proposition is stated and in the last two speeches, it is implied. In the Education Rally at Goldsboro address, the proposition is stated as follows: "We have a plan for progress in education I believe will do the job. . . ." The Education Rally at Smithfield speech contains a similar statement: "I have proposed a far-reaching program. I have now proposed to your elected representatives in the General Assembly the means of financing the part of the program which requires expenditures." The Washington County Union School address contains a proposition stated as follows: "Do we want our children to have quality education second to none? If we do, are we willing to pay for it." In the Special Message

²³Guy Munger, "Sanford Termed Man on the Go," Greensboro Daily News, May 18, 1960, Sec. A, p. 1.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

to the General Assembly of North Carolina Sanford states: "When I presented the Budget to the General Assembly, I asked that you allow me to return to recommend additional funds to meet the basic needs for school improvement." The final two speeches imply the proposition. The statement, "This issue is vital because our hopes and dreams are founded on the manner, the degree, the quality of education we provide for our boys and girls," is presented in the Report to the People address. Finally, in the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants speech the proposition is stated in indirect terms: "I would like to discuss some figures with you, the Certified Public Accountants of North Carolina, tonight. Specifically, I want to discuss with you cents with a 'c' and sense with an 's'." In short, Sanford asserts the same proposition, either directly or indirectly, in all of the speeches, and in so doing provides a unifying thesis from which his lines of argument are derived.

A careful reading of the speeches reveals three major lines of argument: (1) need, (2) plan and (3) benefits. Sanford developed these three issues as follows: (1) the need is reinforced by showing that the present system has caused certain evils; (2) the plan is reinforced by showing that his solution would remove these evils, and (3) the benefits are reinforced by showing that his solution would not only remove these evils but also would bring about additional benefits.

The underlying theme of need runs throughout the selected speeches and is the first way in which Sanford supports his

proposition. A typical example of how Sanford states the need issue appears in the Education Rally at Smithfield address and is repeated in the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants address: "I think that all of us, no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of the public schools." In these addresses the need for a new tax program is supported by a statistical analysis of North Carolina's educational rank among the fifty states. Later, the need is restated as follows: "I could go on reciting statistics until midnight, but I believe the ones you have just heard will convince any sensible person of the need." In the Washington County Union School address another typical reference to need is found: ". . . education is tied to our every goal. We are all vitally concerned with industrial development, farm income, economic growth, the chance for all to make a better living and the defense and growth of our state and nation." The Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina states need as follows: "When I presented the Budget to the General Assembly, I asked that you allow me to return to recommend additional funds to meet the basic needs for school improvement." In the following example found in the Education Rally at Goldsboro address, the need argument is stated in paragraph form:

I believe in the program of school improvement called for by the State Board of Education. This Board, made up of outstanding men of wide experience,

is charged with planning the program of our schools. From all the many immediate needs they have picked the most urgent, and have shaped them together in a program of enrichment which is the foundation, the beginning point, of our long-range plan for quality education.

The final need example is presented in the Report to the People speech:

I come before you tonight to talk about the most decisive--the most important issue which has faced the people of North Carolina for many decades.

This issue is vital because our hopes and dreams are founded on the manner, the degree, the quality of education we provide for our boys and girls.

It concerns every citizen of this state.

Let's look at the record and see how our State compares with our sister states in education.

The second major line of argument is developed around Sanford's plan. In this line of argument he attempts to point out that additional revenue sources will produce better educational opportunities. Plan is stated as follows in the Washington County Union School address:

We cannot achieve quality education unless we support it with an adequate amount of money. The question is indeed simple: "Do we want our children to have quality education second to none? If we do, are we willing to pay for it."

In the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants speech, Sanford introduces his plan as follows:

Now what will it cost us in North Carolina to improve the educational opportunities of our children? I have proposed to the General Assembly of North Carolina the allocation of an additional

\$70,000,000 to the amount recommended by the Advisory Budget Commission.

In the Education Rally at Smithfield speech Sanford states: "Now let us look at the cost of better schools and better educational opportunities for our children. I have proposed an across-the-board sales tax to pay for the program." In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina address, the plan is reinforced by the following statement: "I have examined many sources and I have come to decisions which I recommend to you now in firm belief that this is the way to move North Carolina--the way to swing open the doors to our children." Later in this speech, the plan is restated as follows: "Therefore, it is my recommendation that you remove all exemptions from the sales tax." In the Education Rally at Goldsboro speech, Sanford makes the following remarks:

We have a plan for progress in education I believe will do the job. I think it is an excellent plan. I think all of our future development and expansion depends on the quality of our education.

I believe we must have this quality education program, that it is worth almost any temporary sacrifice. But the final decision is not mine, and it should not be mine. It is up to you, the citizens of North Carolina.

If we are to have it, then one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it.

A restatement of plan occurs as follows: ". . . we expect to pay for it, but we want you to find the easiest and most equitable means of paying for it." Finally, in the Report to the People speech, the plan is stated first as follows: "I have proposed

an across-the-board sales tax to pay for the program." Later, it is restated: ". . . we expect to pay for it, but we want you to find the most equitable means of paying for it."

Sanford's final line of argument is developed around the benefits of his particular proposal and is used in three of the selected speeches. The Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina contains an indirect benefit statement:

If you will authorize these taxes we will be able to take a giant stride forward in lifting up the chances of our boys and girls.

We will be able to adopt the "B" Budget requests of the State Board of Education, a group of conscientious, dedicated and prudent business, professional, and civic leaders who are devoted to the cause of education and the State of North Carolina.

Another indirect statement of benefits is found in the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants: "These additional taxes are going to be the best investment this State ever made. They are going to net us as individuals and as a state the best return on any investment we ever made." The more direct statement of benefits is viewed in the Report to the People speech: "What improvements in educational opportunity may be expected if the State Board of Education's 'B' Budget requests are provided?" The benefit issue is restated as follows: "All of these things make up this program for better education for our children."

The analysis of Sanford's proposition and lines of argument properly leads to an examination of the specific logical

proof which was used to develop and support the argument. As previously mentioned, Sanford's inductive arguments will first be discussed which will be followed by an analysis of his deductive arguments.

Reasoning

An examination of the reasoning by which Sanford supports and develops his three lines of argument is now in order. An important inductive argument is presented to illustrate Sanford's support for his need issue. The induction, based upon specific examples, is used in the following addresses:

(1) Education Rally at Smithfield, (2) North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants; (3) Report to the People; and (4) Washington County Union School address. The induction is constructed around the need for a new tax program and is supported by a statistical analysis of North Carolina's educational rank among the fifty states. The pattern for the argument is formed by stating the statistical examples which conclude with the implied generalization that there is a need for a tax program to improve public schools. The following typical examples are taken from the Education Rally at Smithfield address:

Now let's look at some figures with a close correlation to those I have just listed. Let's look at the result of our poor support of our

children's education. North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in percent of adults with college diplomas.

North Carolina ranks 41st among the states in the percent of our population 14 years old and older who are illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the percent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

North Carolina ranks 45th in the percent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they are illiterate.

Therefore, as you can see, North Carolina is behind in education when compared to national figures. By the presentation of such comparisons, the audience should be convinced of the need for better educational opportunities.

Turning to "deductive" reasoning, one important enthymeme, "I think that all of us no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of the public schools," occurs in the Education Rally at Smithfield address, the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants address and the Washington County Union School address. In this instance, the enthymeme would be considered to be double truncated in that only one premise exists. The entire premise is based upon the audience-held belief that school improvements are necessary. In a double truncated enthymeme, the audience is expected to supply the missing links which will make the argument self-persuasive. In these speeches the major premise and conclusion

are implied and the enthymeme can then be converted into a hypothetical syllogism:

If the greatest need in the state is improvement for education then we ought to solve this problem.

"... there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvements of the public schools."

Therefore, we ought to solve this problem.

Sanford reaches the identical conclusion in both instances of induction and deduction which is that North Carolina needs educational improvements.

One of the two inductive arguments used to illustrate his support of the plan is found in the Report to the People address, the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina address and the Education Rally at Smithfield address. The inductive process is realized through inferences established from specific instances. Here, an inductive argument composed of examples of inadequate tax sources is presented, followed by the implied generalization that present sources of revenue are inadequate for funding an effective program of education. A typical example of this inductive argument appears in the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina speech:

I have discussed every possible source of taxation, and I will mention some of these sources which have been widely discussed.

*(1) I have looked carefully at the tax on whiskey, beer and wine. Beer and wine are already taxed at a rate which appears to one to be as high as reasonably consistent with our regulatory responsibilities. . . .

* Author's enumeration.

Therefore, I conclude that to make the tax on whiskey too high would be self-defeating and therefore ought to be avoided. However, I am convinced that to increase this tax by an amount of 20 percent of the present tax would not reach the point of diminishing returns. . . and therefore I recommend this as one of our sources.

(2) I have looked carefully at the so-called "crown tax" on soft drinks. It is argued with considerable merit that there is no more justification for a special tax on soft drinks than on an ice cream cone, a chocolate soda, a Baby Ruth or a package of potato chips. It is a fact that one cent on a bottle would result in taxing soft drinks at almost double the rate we tax whiskey. . . . It seems fairer to me to tax soft drinks at the rate of three percent as a part of the regular sales tax, and this is already being done.

(3) A great many people said to me that we should tax tobacco products, and a great many people have said we should not. . . . The most logical explanation I have heard is that North Carolina is the leading manufacturer, and our leaders of the industry have the burden of fighting such taxes in other states where, in many instances, they have been levied in unfair amounts. Consequently, I do not now recommend a special tax, but recommend that tobacco products be taxed at the rate of three percent along with other similar commodities, as is now the case.

(4) I have considered a state tax on real estate and other property. Most states put the greatest burden of school support on real estate taxes. We departed from that concept some years ago, deciding to leave this source to the limited use of county and city government. . . . More than a quarter of a century ago we made the basic decision to tax money, rather than property and I oppose any change in this long-accepted approach. . . .

(5) The income tax has been a steady, expanding source of revenue for the state and has distributed the burden to those best able to pay as measured by income. This is a fair and equitable tax, but already the state is receiving substantial revenue from the income tax, and the Federal government is taxing this source almost to the breaking point. . . . Therefore, I recommend that we do not change our rate of income tax.

A second instance of induction used to support the plan is found in the Education Rally at Goldsboro and the Report to the People speeches. Here, testimony which includes references to Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman C. Rickover and Dr. Jerrold Zacharias are used as typical instances leading to the generalization that recognized authorities agree that "this [is] one of the best and most significant plans [i.e., B Budget Request] of school improvements in America." This induction based upon authority is stated as follows:

Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman C. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, three leading authorities who have recently visited North Carolina, all consider this one of the best and most significant plans of school improvements in America.

The final argument used to support the plan can be thought of as reasoning by hypothetical syllogism via the enthymeme; it occurs in the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, the Education Rally at Goldsboro and the Report to the People. The enthymemes which occur in these speeches vary slightly. In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina the enthymeme states: ". . . something must be done about our schools. . . if we want to do the job we will have to pay for it." In the Education Rally at Goldsboro address the enthymeme states: "If we are to have it then one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it." Finally, in the Report to the People address the enthymeme states: "If we are to have quality education, then

of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it." From these statements, the enthymeme can be stated: If quality education is to be achieved, then we must pay for it. This statement would be considered a double truncated enthymeme and is based upon the audience-held belief that quality education is necessary for the state of North Carolina. The hypothetical syllogism can be interpreted as follows:

If quality education is to be achieved, then we must pay for it.

Quality education must be achieved;

Therefore, we must pay for it.

In brief, Sanford supports his plan by induction, arguing from specific instances (1) that the present sources of revenue are inadequate as means of financing his program, and (2) that leading authorities consider this particular plan to be better than most plans. Through enthymematic reasoning he suggests that quality education will have to be paid for.

One major inductive argument used in support of benefits occurs in the Report to the People speech. Here, the argument is developed through specific examples of the benefits of his program which leads to the implied generalization that the B Budget Request will provide certain stipulative benefits. The following excerpts are used to illustrate his inductive example:

What improvements in educational opportunity may be expected if the State Board of Education's "B" Budget Requests are provided?

one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it." From these statements, the enthymeme can be stated: If quality education is to be achieved, then we must pay for it. This statement would be considered a double truncated enthymeme and is based upon the audience-held belief that quality education is necessary for the state of North Carolina. The hypothetical syllogism can be interpreted as follows:

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What improvements in educational opportunity may
be expected if the State Board of Education's "B"
Budget Requests are provided?

(1) First, North Carolina teachers' salaries will be made more competitive with those in other states. . . .

(2) Secondly, additional teachers will immediately provide the needed improvements in educational opportunities. . . .

(3) More teaching materials will be provided. . . .

(4) Improvement will be made in instruction. . . .

(5) Teachers will be given improved leadership and supervision on the local level. . . .

(6) More remedial physical defects of children will be corrected. . . .

Two enthymemes will be used to support benefits. In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, the following enthymeme is stated:

The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of the state services to all who share in these benefits. When balanced with the present income tax schedules, it is about as fair a method as possible for distributing the costs because the more a man spends, the more he pays in sales tax.

This particular enthymeme is double truncated and is based upon the audience-held belief that a fair method of taxation must be supplied. When converted to a hypothetical syllogism, the statement reads:

If the sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of state services, then it should be approved as a new source of taxation.

"The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of state services. . . ."

Therefore, it should be approved as a new source of taxation.

A second enthymeme found in the above speech further illustrates the logical support of the benefits issue:

There will be some other urgent needs, and I recommend that you consider adding to the proposed appropriations as already submitted the following increases: mental hospitals, \$500,000; welfare, including a wider distribution of surplus food, \$2,000,000; other agencies and institutions, plus a reasonable margin for a reserve \$3,500,000.

Through the Budget Bureau, I will consider carefully with you the line items involved in these increases. This will leave a balance of \$4,000,000. . . . I recommend that this sum of \$4,000,000 be applied in partial support of the prison budget, that an equal amount be released to the highway fund for use in urgently needed secondary road construction.

The enthymeme may then be converted to a categorical syllogism:

Any plan that benefits a variety of institutions should be adopted.

The sales tax benefits a variety of institutions (e.g., mental hospitals, welfare, prison budget and highway fund).

Therefore, the sales tax should be adopted.

Through induction Sanford points out the stipulative benefits of his program and through deduction he points out fairness and the additional advantages.

In summary, Sanford supports his three lines of argument by using both inductive and deductive reasoning. He supports need, plan and benefits by reasoning from specific instances to general conclusions, i.e., by induction. Although induction was used in all six speeches, the Report of the People address was the one speech that contained inductive support of the need, plan and benefits. The Education Rally at Smithfield speech was

the only other address that need and plan were both developed by induction.

Sanford also supports his lines of argument by deduction. The hypothetical enthymeme is used to support need and plan and hypothetical and categorical enthymemes are used to support the benefits of his proposal. All six speeches contained enthymemes but the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina was the best example of the use of enthymemes in support of the plan and benefits. An examination of Sanford's use of evidence is now appropriate.

Evidence

Thonssen, Baird and Braden define evidence as the testimony of individuals, personal experiences, tables of statistics, illustrative examples of any factual items. These constitute evidence when they "induce in the mind of the hearer or reader a state of belief--a tendency to affirm the existence of the fact or proposition to which the evidence attaches and in support of which it is introduced."²⁶ Any evidence used within the argument should serve as an adequate and valid substructure of reasoning. Thus, the purpose of this section will be to analyze Sanford's use of the evidence of statistics, testimony and examples within the six selected speeches.

²⁶Thonssen, Baird and Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.), p. 399.

Sanford uses statistics in support of his three lines of argument. In the Report to the People and the Education Rally at Goldsboro speeches, Sanford states that "twenty-six other states, including Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia have a tax on food." Here, this statement would be given in support of his plan. In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina and the Education Rally at Smithfield addresses a similar statement to the one above is used to substantiate his plan: ". . . I hope they will remember that 26 of the 35 states with sales tax do not exempt food." Four of the selected speeches contain the identical statistical evidence to support the need line of argument. This inductive argument is constructed around the need for a new tax program and is supported by an analysis of North Carolina's educational rank among the fifty states. The following material was presented at the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants address, at the Education Rally at Smithfield and at the Washington County Union School address:

(1) North Carolina ranks 45th among the 50 states in the amount of money we spend on each child going to school. We spend an average of \$240 a year for the education of each of our school children in North Carolina. The average American child has \$369 a year spent on him.

(2) North Carolina ranks 40th in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for local schools.

(3) North Carolina ranks 41st in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for all public education.

(4) North Carolina in the last decade raised the rate of teachers' salaries less than any other state in the Union. Our teachers' salaries were low in 1950 and far below the national average. After ten years, those salaries were appreciably farther below the national average.

(5) North Carolina ranks 41st in pupil-teacher ratio. That means that 40 states give teachers smaller class loads than we require teachers of this state to teach.

Now let's look at some figures with a close correlation to those I have just listed. Let's look at the result of our poor support of our children's education.

(6) North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in the percent of adults with college diplomas.

(7) North Carolina ranks 41st among the states in the percent of our population 14 years old and older who are illiterate.

(8) North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the percent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

(9) North Carolina ranks 45th in the percent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they were illiterate.

(10) North Carolina ranks 47th among the 50 states in the median school years completed by adults (that is, persons 25 years old or older).

(11) North Carolina ranks 48th among the 50 states in the percentage of our adult population who are high school graduates.

Now, let's look at one more brief set of statistics. I rather suspect there is a strong cause-and-effect relationship between the figures I have already listed and those I am about to list.

(12) North Carolina ranks 17th among the states in migration.

(13) North Carolina ranks 43rd in per capita disposable income.

(14) North Carolina ranks 45th in per capita income.

Lest someone accuse me of looking only on the dark side, let me point out that North Carolina ranks 8th among the states in the number of school children. That is our greatest asset. . . .

(15) North Carolina is rightly concerned when anyone attempts to lower our tobacco parity of 90 percent. Yet we have let our children's educational parity fall to less than 66 percent.

The March 23 Report to the People contains the identical analysis with exception of items 2, 4, 5, 10, 12 and 13. One additional item occurs in the March 23 address: "When we consider these figures--last in the nation in the rate of increase for our teachers in the 50's and 39th in the nation's teachers' salaries."

The second type of evidence used by Sanford is the testimony of individuals incorporated within three arguments to substantiate the speaker's assertions. In the six selected speeches Sanford uses three such instances, viz., the testimony of Admiral Hyman C. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, Dr. James B. Conant. In the Special Message to the General Assembly, a testimonial reference is made to Admiral Hyman C. Rickover. The reference is used in support of the plan issue, and its purpose is to reiterate the importance of unification of the state's citizens on behalf of education:

It is, as Admiral Rickover points out, an essential civic duty for every intelligent and educated person, for every person with deep love of his country and her children, to participate in the public debate on education. . . . There is no valid reason why the United States cannot have the best school system in the world.

A second testimonial account, which occurs in two of the speeches, includes references to Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Rickover and Dr. Jerrold Zacharias:

Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman C. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, three leading authorities who have recently visited North Carolina, all consider this one of the best and most significant plans of school improvements in America.

In the Education Rally at Goldsboro address this statement is used to support the plan. In the Report to the People the identical statement appears in the conclusions of his speech.

Sanford makes some use of examples in his speeches. Although he depends primarily upon the evidence of statistics and testimony, his examples are incorporated mainly in the introductions and conclusions of the selected speeches for attention and interest rather than for logical support. However, he does use at least two examples to support the lines of argument. A typical use of example for interest appears in the introduction to the Education Rally at Goldsboro speech:

The first time I heard a radio was the Gene Tunney-Jack Dempsey prizefight, when my Daddy took my brother and me to the shoe repair shop where one of the few radio sets in Laurinburg was located. Today, while radio still supplies information and entertainment for millions, it nevertheless seems almost old-fashioned.

Sanford's strongest use of the example in support of an argument is found in the Report to the People speech. Here, Sanford supports the need issue:

We pay the brick masons who lay the foundation for the school building more than we do the teachers who lay the foundation for the future.

We pay the carpenter who puts in the doors of the classrooms more than we do the person who opens the minds of the children who study in those classrooms.

We pay the linotype operator who sets the type for the books more than we do the person who teaches the child how to read those books.

We pay the electrician who lights the classroom more than we pay the teacher who enlightens the minds of the children who study in those classrooms.

This is not to say the brick mason, the carpenter, the electrician and the linotype operator are overpaid. It is evidence that the teachers are underpaid.

A second instance is a brief historical example used to support the plan issue. In the Report to the People and the Education Rally at Goldsboro speech, Sanford states: "We had a tax on food during the Depression, put there in 1933, which saved the schools." In the Education Rally at Smithfield speech, he mentions the example in abbreviated form: "As you know, we have been taxing food since 1933."

Sanford uses three types of evidence to support his three lines of arguments in the selected speeches. He uses statistics most often, and all six of the speeches include statistical data. In certain speeches, statistics support his need and in other speeches, a statistical analysis is used to support his plan. Second in importance is Sanford's use of testimony, three instances of which are found in the selected speeches. In all cases, testimony is used in support of the plan. Finally, the example is infrequently used in support of the lines of argument. Three speeches include examples for logical proof, and only one of the examples is developed.

Summary

Sanford's speech proposition developed in the six selected speeches relates to (1) his proposed educational plan and (2) the financing of this particular program. The proposition is clearly stated in the following four addresses: (1) Education Rally at Goldsboro; (2) Education Rally at Smithfield; (3) Washington County Union School; and (4) Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina. In the Report to the People and the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants addresses the same proposition is implied but not as clearly stated. In essence, Sanford asserts the same proposition, either directly or indirectly in all of the speeches, and in so doing provides a unifying thesis from which his lines of argument are derived.

The selected speeches reveal three major lines of argument developed around (1) need, (2) plan and (3) benefits of his proposal. Sanford developed these three issues as follows: (1) the need is reinforce by showing that the present system has caused certain evils; (2) the plan is reinforced by showing that his solution would remove these evils, and (3) the benefits are reinforced by showing that his solution would not only remove these evils but also would bring about additional benefits. The need issue is introduced in most instances by a direct reference to the need for school improvement. In certain speeches need is stated as directly as ". . . there is no greater need in North

Carolina today than the improvements of the public schools," or ". . . I asked that you allow me to return to recommend additional funds to meet the basic needs for school improvement." In other instances, Sanford refers to this need as a "most urgent" and "vital issue." The plan line of argument is stated in terms of paying for quality education. In the following quotes Sanford suggests this implication:

(1) . . . what will it cost us in North Carolina to improve the educational opportunities of our children?

(2) Now let us look at the cost of better schools. . . .

(3) We have a plan for progress in education . . .

(4) I have proposed an across-the-board sales tax to pay for the program.

When Sanford talked of benefits, he mentioned that his proposal would provide ". . . a giant stride forward in lifting up the chances of our boys and girls," and that it was the ". . . best investment this state ever made." In other instances, Sanford was more direct in his introduction of this issue and he simply stated: "What improvements in educational opportunity may be expected . . . ?"

Sanford supports his three lines of argument by using inductive and deductive reasoning. The Report to the People was the only speech in which the need, plan and benefit issues were developed by induction. Also, this was the one speech in which benefits were developed by inductive reasoning in that this issue

was left out of the other five addresses. The Education Rally at Smithfield speech was the only other address in which both need and plan was developed inductively. In two of the remaining speeches need was reinforced by induction and in the final two speeches plan was reasoned by induction. Although all six speeches contained enthymemes, the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina was the only speech that employed a hypothetical enthymeme to support plan and benefits and an additional categorical enthymeme to support benefits. The three speeches that contained hypothetical enthymemes in support of need were as follows: (1) Education Rally at Smithfield; (2) North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants; and (3) the Washington County Union School. Finally, the plan was developed by the hypothetical enthymeme in the following addresses: (1) Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina; (2) Education Rally at Goldsboro; and (3) Report to the People.

Sanford uses three types of evidence to support his three lines of argument in the selected speeches. He uses statistics most often and all six of the speeches contain statistical data to support the need and plan issues. Second in importance is Sanford's use of testimony; three instances of testimony are used to support his plan line of argument. Finally, the example is infrequently used in support of the lines of argument. Two speeches include examples used as logical proof.

CHAPTER III

PATHOS

Standards for Analysis

The second major type of artistic proof is pathos, or emotional appeal. Aristotle states in the Rhetoric that "persuasion can be effected by working on the emotions of the audience. . . ."¹ Three factors should be considered in analyzing appeal to emotions: (1) The circumstances (or frame of mind) in which they are felt; (2) the persons toward whom they are felt; and (3) the things that arouse them.²

Much of Book II of the Rhetoric is devoted to a discussion of various emotions, emphasizing their relationship to the rhetorical argument. Charles Baldwin suggests that Aristotle is not attempting an analysis of mental operations; rather, the purpose of his discussion is to provide a practical illustration of the ways in which the orator may take advantage of the audience's feelings within his discourse.³ Anger, love, fear, shame, benevolence, pity, envy, emulation and their

¹Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated by Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. xxiii.

²Ibid., p. 182.

³Charles Baldwin, Ancient Rhetoric and Poetic (New York: The Macmillan Company, 1924), p. 8.

opposites are outlined by Aristotle as the common emotions. At this point a brief definition and application of each emotion will help to clarify these Aristotelian concepts.

Anger and its opposite (mildness) are the first emotions discussed by Aristotle. Anger is defined as "an impulse attended by pain, to a revenge that shall be evident, and caused by an obvious, unjustified, slight with respect to the individual of his friends."⁴ Thus, when a man experiences this emotional state he becomes angry at another particular individual rather than at men in general. Annoyance, vexation or pain are those things which excite anger in men. The orator can use this emotional appeal to place his adversary in an unflattering light by pointing out that the adversary is the sort of person who arouses anger in men.⁵ Mildness (placability, calmness, patience) or the process of growing mild is defined "as a settling down and quieting of anger."⁶ If men are angered by those persons who slight them by a voluntary action, then they are mild toward those persons who do nothing against them. A speaker can calm his audience by representing those who have angered them as involuntary offenders, whose action which were, however mistaken, based upon worthy motives.⁷

⁴Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 93.

⁵Ibid., pp. 93-99

⁶Ibid., p. 99.

⁷Ibid., pp. 99-102.

Aristotle defines love or friendship as the act of being friendly, which involves wishing for others those things that you consider to be good and trying to effect such benefits. Individuals deem themselves friends when they have developed this mutual regard. Hate, the opposite of friendship, is produced by anger, by spitefulness and clamny. The orator can prove to his audience whether men are enemies or friends. If a friendship or enmity is pretended then the orator can expose such a pretense and he can point out whether a deed was instigated by friendship or hatred.⁸

Fear may be defined as "a pain or disturbance arising from a mental image of impending evil of a destructive or painful sort."⁹ If the speaker wishes to eliminate the fear held by his audience he can point out that others greater than they have suffered, others in a similar situation are presently suffering and in both instances they suffer from causes they did not expect because they felt safe. Confidence, the opposite of fear is created by quite different circumstances:

Therefore confidence is the hope [anticipation], accompanied by a mental image of things conducive to safety as keeping near at hand while causes of fear seem to be either non-existent or far away. Confidence is inspired both by the remoteness of calamities and by the proximity of sources of encouragement.¹⁰

⁸Ibid., pp. 102-107.

⁹Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 110-111.

Shame (modesty) and its opposite, shamelessness, make up the fourth group of common emotional states discussed in the Rhetoric:

Shame may be defined as a pain or disturbance regarding that class of evils in the present, past or future, which we think will tend to our discredit; and shamelessness as a certain contempt of indifference regarding the said evils.¹¹

Hence, shame is aroused by certain evils that may bring disgrace to ourselves or others for whom we care. A sense of shamelessness is aroused by forces and conditions opposed to those which create a sense of shame.¹²

Benevolence (favor, kindness) is described as the feeling aroused in an individual that causes him to perform a favor for another person who stands in need without consideration of his own advantage. Such an emotion may be used by the orator to create a favorable impression or it may be used to discredit the appearance of benevolence in others. If the speaker wishes to arouse a kindly feeling toward himself or the subject of his speech, he must first show that certain individuals were in pain and need and that certain deeds were performed during this distress. If the orator wishes to rob individuals of a reputation for benevolence he can either show that a certain deed was performed for the doers own advantage or that the service was accidental in nature.¹³

¹¹Ibid., p. 112.

¹²Ibid., pp. 112-117.

¹³Ibid., pp. 117-119.

Pity is felt when there is an immediate possibility that an evil of a destructive, painful nature may befall another individual who does not deserve it. This emotion is aroused by whatever brings pain, anguish or ruin. The speaker can arouse a sense of pity in his audience by creating a distasteful picture of the evil that has or is about to affect someone else. Aristotle suggests that the more imaginative and dramatic the orator, the more effective his appeals will become. Indignation, the opposite of pity, is the feeling of pain felt by an individual at the sight of another's undeserved good fortune. Both emotions are common among good men; for those who feel pity at undeserved misfortune will feel indignation at undeserved prosperity. The orator may create a feeling of indignation by showing that those persons who ask for pity do not deserve it.¹⁴

Envy is pain felt by certain individuals over the good fortunes of others. The emotion is felt toward those whom we consider to be our equals in race, family, age, disposition, reputation or possessions. If the orator exposes candidates for pity as in reality, having good fortune, the audience will become envious and reject any feeling of pity. Emulation, the opposite of envy, is defined as pain received by individuals when their equals have obtained desirable good which are also possible for them to obtain. Emulation is considered a good emotion because

¹⁴Ibid., 119-127.

it excites men to strive for those things which are desirable and it is easily stimulated within the audience.¹⁵

Aristotle provided a practical guide to the application of emotional appeals within the persuasive argument. According to Aristotle's analysis, the orator can decide the best method of producing a favorable reaction toward his proposition. New dimensions have, however, been added to this theory by the influence of modern psychology.

Baird, Knower and Becker present a modern approach to persuasive appeals which is structured around the concept of emotive behavior. Emotive language appeals to the needs, values, and attitudes that are the fundamental motives of human behavior and the appeals based on these motives fall generally into three categories: (1) valid, (2) marginal, and (3) bogus.¹⁶ Baird, Knower and Becker observe that

valid appeals to action are directed toward worthy motives which have a reasonable prospect of satisfaction in the action proposed. Marginal appeals are propositions in which the satisfactions solicited may be real but are of a minor value to the audience. . . . [Bogus appeals are those which] foment hasty and ill-considered action or which offer false and improbable claims of satisfaction. . . .¹⁷

These rhetoricians suggest that the orator must draw upon the motives that incite human actions and must discover the

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 127-131.

¹⁶A. Craig Baird, Franklin Knower, and Samuel L. Becker, General Speech Communication (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 323.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 325.

appeals that will achieve a harmony between his proposal and the dominant motives of his audience. The four types of audience motives are: (1) the biological, (2) ego, (3) social, and (4) the motives of habit. The biological motives include the need for food and shelter, avoidance of danger, sex drive, freedom from restraint, and the need to relieve emotional tension. The ego motives which influence man's behavior are desires for self-respect, pride and dignity. The social motives consist of the desire for conformity, favorable attention and status. The final group, the motives of habit, are those stimulated by the desire for maintenance of tastes, interests, preferences, work habits, and intellectual and emotional habits. The main ideas within the speech should be based upon the dominant audience motives and supporting materials should be used to present the relationship of the proposition of the motives.¹⁸

Although Baird, Knower and Becker echo the Aristotelian concern for the effect of motive appeals on human behavior, they do not offer a specific means for examining the use of artistic proof. For the purposes of this study, therefore, the more traditional approach of Thonssen, Baird and Braden will be relied upon.

In the 1948 and 1970 editions of Speech Criticism, the function of emotional proof is described as that which puts

¹⁸ Ibid., pp. 329-330.

"the listener in a frame of mind to react favorably and conformably to the speaker's purpose."¹⁹ In both of these editions the discussion is directed toward the principle of audience adaptation, including attention to the origin and practical application of the principle. The basic consideration is the speaker's adjustment to the underlying variables of human behavior as found in a particular audience.²⁰ The 1970 edition expands the principle of speaker-audience relations and indicates that it is founded upon Burke's concept of identification which suggests that an individual can persuade another person insofar as he can talk his language. This theory establishes the importance of close speaker-audience contact in persuasive discourse. The speaker must undergo a self-analysis in order to adjust his own intellectual social and moral philosophy to those views held by his audience. Hence, complete speaker contact is achieved when the orator has successfully adapted himself and his message to his audience. The following are the eleven considerations which, according to the 1970 edition of Speech Criticism, a speaker must take into account in

¹⁹The reference cited is found in Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 428; a similar reference is found in A. Craig Baird and Lester Thonssen, Speech Criticism (1st ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 358.

²⁰The reference cited is found in Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2d ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 428; a similar reference is found in A. Craig Baird and Lester Thonssen, Speech Criticism (1st ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1948), p. 360.

approaching his audience: (1) age level; (2) sex, (3) intellectual and knowledgeable status in respect to the subject; (4) the political, social and religious status; (5) economic status; (6) attitude toward the subject; (7) prejudices toward the subject; (8) occupational status; (9) known interest in the subject; (10) self-interest in the subject; and (11) mood of the occasion.²¹

While these considerations will not be analyzed directly in this study, they condition the speaker's use of artistic proof, which is the subject of this analysis. When a speaker has analyzed his audience according to these criteria, he is then in a position to select the appeals most appropriate to that audience. In the 1948 edition, Speech Criticism, Thonssen and Baird have adopted A. E. Phillips' catalogue of most frequently used emotional appeals: (1) patriotism; (2) fear; (3) social responsibility; (4) fair play; (5) expedience; (6) personal honor; (7) family life; (8) self-assertion; (9) social recognition; and (10) social approval.²² This catalogue is so useful for analyzing the speaker's "invention" that it will be drawn upon in the subsequent discussion.

²¹Thonssen, Baird and Braden, Speech Criticism (2d ed.), p. 431.

²²Thonssen and Baird, Speech Criticism (1st ed.), p. 366.

Emotional Proof

In the six speeches selected for analysis, Sanford employs the following motive appeals out of the ten listed by A. E. Phillips: (1) fear; (2) family life; (3) patriotism; (4) social responsibility; and (5) fair play. A careful consideration of the speeches reveals that the appeals to fear and family life are far less effectively developed and used than the appeals to patriotism, social responsibility and fair play. It is convenient, therefore, to begin with a consideration of these first two appeals.

Only the introductions of the six selected speeches exhibit a minor degree of the motive appeal to fear, i.e., an anticipation of destructive pain. The first example of this motive appeal is found in the Washington County Union School address:

Education, put in its bleakest terms, is survival. Here, in our part of the free world, we can do no less than seek the best as we prepare to do our part to defend America and the free world. And education, put in its brightest terms, is life and growth and happiness, all that we seek and hope to accomplish is tied to education. . . . The victory in this dangerous cold war with communism will be won in the classrooms. . . . In fact, this school is a striking answer to communist propoganda being spread among the new nations of Africa and Asia.

The following instance of this motive appeal in the Education Rally at Goldsboro address echoes, to a large extent, the approach of the passage just quoted:

Education is a matter of survival. It is just that simple. And all across America we are not doing an adequate job of educating our youth for the fast moving, rapidly changing, complex scientific world.

In these instances, Sanford relies upon abstract language that would arouse a vague uneasiness in his audience. In the first example, such words and phrases as "survival," "free world," "best," "life and growth," "victory in this dangerous cold war with communism," and "communist propoganda" are used to create a feeling of apprehension in the listener rather than a sense of immediate danger. In the second example, Sanford relies upon a series of adjectives such as "fast moving," "rapidly changing," "complex," "scientific," to describe the world for which our children are being inadequately educated. Such a technique arouses concern, although it is not likely to arouse a profound fear.

Most of the examples of the motive appeal to family life are found within the introductions and discussions of the speeches. Here, the appeals to family life are used to emphasize cohesion of the family unit and the importance of the parents' decision about their child's educational future. Two examples used to illustrate this point occur in the Report to the People address. The first occurs in the introduction of this speech:

I come before you tonight to talk about the most decisive--the most important issue which has faced the people of North Carolina for many decades. This issue is vital because our hopes and dreams are founded on the manner, the degree, the quality of education we provide for our boys and girls.

In a second example from the discussion of the speech, Sanford states:

We had a tax on food during the Depression, put there in 1933, which saved the schools. If our fathers could pay this, we at least should not shirk away from it without giving it serious consideration as a means of assuring top quality in our schools today.

Patriotism is another emotion used by Sanford. He seeks to establish a connection between educational concern and love of country. Few examples of patriotism are found in the speeches, but, of those instances which occur, the more forceful are found in the introductions. The Washington County Union School address contains a typical use of patriotism:

Education is the foundation of the needs and hopes of the nation, in general, and North Carolina, in particular. We are all concerned with the peace of the world and we must realize that our urgent duty is to educate the scientists, the statesmen, and the citizenry who will fully understand and who are armed with education to defend and to promote the ideals of our dynamic democracy as it clashes with hostile ideologies.

A second example is found within the introduction of the Educational Rally at Smithfield address:

I believe this campaign we are waging for better schools is of equal--if, indeed not greater--importance than those campaigns of World War II. For the first prerequisite to democracy is an educated citizenry.

In support of his proposition, Sanford uses the motive appeal to social responsibility to emphasize the necessity for a new educational program. This appeal is of vital importance for winning public commitment to his program and, therefore,

insuring legislative approval of the B Budget. Although, examples of this motive appeal are found within all the speech parts, they are used less effectively in the introductions and conclusions. This point can be illustrated by a particular motive appeal found in the introduction to the Education Rally at Smithfield speech:

The decision on whether our schools shall be improved and whether the education of our children shall be the first order of business is now in the hands of the people of this state and their elected representatives.

The examples of social responsibility found in the introductions are less concrete than examples occurring in the discussions when he becomes involved in more detail in his proposal. The above example is merely an indication of the approach that will follow as he presents his major issues.

An effective appeal to social responsibility is found in the discussion of the Special Budget Message to the General Assembly. Sanford points out that educational success can only be achieved by sincere interest on the part of the State's citizens:

The quality we seek cannot be delivered by the General Assembly, although only you can start the march. Quality is complex, difficult, constant in required attention, and it will demand the best effort by social boards, the state agencies, the parents, the students, and indeed all the citizens of the state. . . I would like to see every citizen understand the need and the problem, caught up and taking part, willing not only to supply the money but anxious to supply the continuing interest without which our expenditures will have been in vain.

In this example, Sanford mentions the different interest groups and refers to the need for financial support as well as continuing public involvement, and the implications are much stronger than in the previous example.

The motive appeal to fair play is used with particular success by Sanford because he relies on concreteness of detail and specific reference to those elements of experience which would be familiar to his audience. In using this appeal, the speaker is suggesting that the less fortunate citizens of the state should receive just and impartial treatment in the education of their children. The first two examples are repeated in almost every one of the selected speeches. For the sake of convenience the following is taken from the discussion of the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina:

I am well aware of the hardships of paying tax on necessary items by those whose income is so low that every penny counts. But I am also aware of the greater hardship placed upon the children of those same people by inadequate school opportunities, and I have been able to devise no way that the poorest can be exempt from a general sales tax. Welfare payments and the distribution of free food answer this complaint raised on behalf of the poorest among us, and the poor who do not receive these payments, I predict will be willing to do their share in order that we might have a strong structure which will support the schools which will give their children a better chance in life.

The second example is taken from discussion of the Education Rally at Smithfield address:

I fail to see that you treat the "poor man" any better by raising the tax he must pay when buying his children blue jeans and shoes and socks and underclothes than by eliminating the exemptions.

The last example, not used as often as the previous two, is found in the discussion of the Report to the People:

We pay the brick masons who lay the foundation for the school building more than we do the teachers who lay the foundation for the future. We pay the carpenter who puts in the doors of the classrooms more than we do the person who opens the doors to the minds of the children who study in the classrooms. We pay the linotype operator who sets the type for the books more than we do the person who teaches the child how to read those books. We pay the electrician who lights the classroom more than we pay the teacher who enlightens the minds of the children who study in those classrooms. This is not to say the brick mason, the carpenter, the electrician and the linotype operator are overpaid. It is evidence that the teachers are underpaid.

Summary

Although Sanford uses only five of the ten common motive appeals, his speeches contain numerous instances of these appeals in the introductions, discussions and conclusions. The more effective examples are concentrated in the former two speech parts with less concentration upon motive appeal in the conclusions. The appeals to fear and family life are employed less often than the appeals to patriotism, social responsibility and fair play. Finally, the instances of fair play are more adequately employed to minimize the immediate objections to Sanford's proposition. His appeal to fair play is Sanford's answer to those who are concerned about the cost of the program and to those who observed that this cost would have to be met by both poor and rich.

The central result of Sanford's use of emotional proof is to create the impression of crisis. Images of battles and life and death struggles suggest the importance of his subject. Such images figure importantly in the appeals to fear and patriotism. In the Education Rally at Goldsboro address, he identifies education as "a matter of survival," and in the Washington County Union School address Sanford states that "the victory in this dangerous cold war with communism will be won in the classrooms." More explicitly, in the Education Rally at Smithfield address, he equates his efforts with the battles of World War II: "I believe this campaign we are waging for better schools is equal--if, indeed not greater--importance than those campaigns of World War II." These examples are obvious attempts to suggest the crisis nature of the situation facing North Carolina education, but even in those appeals to family life, social responsibility, and fair play Sanford creates a similar impression. In the Report to the People address, he calls education "the most important issue which has faced the people of North Carolina for many decades." In the Special Budget Message to the General Assembly, he refers to the difficulty of providing quality education:

Quality is complex, difficult, constant in required attention, and it will demand the best effort by social boards, the state agencies, the parents, the students, and indeed all the citizens of the state.

In his treatment of the appeal to fair play, Sanford consistently emphasizes the seriously inadequate facilities and opportunities of North Carolina education and the hard task of improving these facilities and opportunities. Such an emphasis subtly reinforces the general impression that the state is facing an educational crisis and that his program offers a solution to this crisis.

CHAPTER IV

ETHOS

Standards for Analysis

The third and final type of artistic proof is ethos or ethical proof. Aristotle states that "the character of the speaker is a cause of persuasion when the speech is so uttered as to make him worthy of belief."¹ The speaker's credibility must be substantiated by the speech itself rather than by any antecedent impression created by reputation.² Thus, the speaker may gain the confidence of his audience through the use of character, intelligence and good will as artistic proof. Aristotle explains the techniques of establishing character and intelligence in Book I of the Rhetoric which deals with moral nobility and the human virtues. He also provides an explanation of good will (friendly disposition) in the discussion of human emotions in Book II.³

¹Aristotle, The Rhetoric of Aristotle, translated by Lane Cooper (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1960), p. 8.

²Ibid., pp. 8-9.

³Lester Thonssen, A. Craig Baird, and Waldo W. Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.; New York: The Ronald Press Company, 1970), p. 477.

Aristotle suggests that the audience is persuaded when they believe "the speaker to be a man of a certain character, that is when he seems to be good or well disposed or both."⁴ One method by which the speaker's character and intelligence is established is by his use of praise ("an utterance making manifest the greatness of virtue").⁵ Aristotle amplifies his idea:

Since we praise men for what they have done, and since the mark of the virtuous person is that he acts after deliberate moral choice, our speaker must try to show that the subject of his praise is a man who does so act. To this end one will find it helpful to make it appear that the man has often acted with moral purpose.⁶

The elements of virtue dealt with in Book I are justice, courage, temperance, magnificence, magnanimity, liberality, gentleness, prudence and wisdom and are used primarily in praising the speaker's deeds.⁷ For example, the audience should be made aware if the speaker was the only one, or the first, to have accomplished a certain deed. In adjusting the use of praise, the speaker should consider the audience to whom the praise is addressed: "Whatever the quality an audience esteems, the speaker must attribute that virtuous quality to the object of his praise."⁸

⁴Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 45.

⁵Ibid., p. 52.

⁶Ibid.

⁷Ibid., p. 47.

⁸Ibid., p. 51.

While the speaker establishes himself as a man of good character through praise of the virtues, he presents himself as a man of intelligence through the construction of his rhetorical argument and the treatment of its constituents.⁹ Aristotle treats intelligence or intellectual integrity as synonymous with the virtue of prudence: "prudence or sagacity is an intellectual virtue which enables men to lay good plans for their happiness with regard to the goods and evils. . . ."¹⁰

For an explanation of how the speaker may create an image of good will toward his audience, Aristotle directs the orator to an analysis of friendship. Friendship or the act of being friendly is defined in the Rhetoric:

Wishing for a person those things which you can consider to be good-wishing for his sake, not your own--and tending so far as you can to effect them. And a friend is one who lives [likes], and is beloved [liked] in return; men deem themselves friends when they think that they stand in this mutual relation.¹¹

The common bonds or interests that make men friends are (1) experiencing similar pains and pleasure, (2) similar opinions and (3) mutual friends and enemies.¹² A friendly disposition is established in discourse by the speaker (1) exposing men as friends or enemies, (2) reflecting pretense of such friendship when it

⁹Thonssen, Baird and Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd ed.), p. 459.

¹⁰Aristotle, Rhetoric, p. 47.

¹¹Ibid., p. 103.

¹²Ibid.

is insincere, and (3) exposing deeds performed by men in anger or hatred.¹³

Aristotle continues his explanation of ethical appeal by discussing its role in the individual parts of the speech, i.e., in the proem, statement, argument and epilogue. The function of the proem or introduction of the speech is to "make clear the end and object of your work."¹⁴ Ethical proof is employed here as a means of gaining the audience's attention by making them receptive to an impression of the speaker as a good and just person.¹⁵ Such an impression commands attention for as Aristotle states:

Men pay more attention to things of importance, to their own interests, to anything wonderful, to anything pleasant; and hence you must give the impression that your speech has to do with the like.¹⁶

The statement or narration is used to amplify the subject by presenting those actions that gave rise to the speech.¹⁷ Here emphasis is placed upon giving the right impression of the speaker. His character may be established by the revelations of moral purpose or by evidence that the speaker's goal is noble rather than self-serving.¹⁸ In the body of the speech, the speaker

¹³Ibid., p. 107.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 223.

¹⁵Ibid., pp. 223-224.

¹⁶Ibid., p. 224.

¹⁷Ibid., p. 228.

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 230-231.

is instructed to use proofs of his case if they exist and always to be guided by moral character; but, if such proofs do not exist then he may rely upon his moral character alone. Aristotle believed that "after all, it is more in keeping with true worth to reveal yourself as a man of probity than as sharp in argument."¹⁹ He warns that in creating an ethical impression, certain things about the speaker should be quoted by a third person rather than by the speaker himself. Also for effectiveness, some of the speaker's arguments should be presented as ethical maxims.²⁰ The final ethical impression, created in the epilogue or conclusion, should be used to make the audience well disposed to the speaker's own case and ill-disposed to the opposition's case. Here, the speaker's aim is to commend his own case so as to reveal himself as a good man.²¹

This Aristotelian view of ethos has been modified by the research of modern rhetorical critics. Three major changes have resulted from this research. The nature of ethos outside the speech has been given more direct emphasis in modern interpretations. Kenneth Anderson and Theodore Clevenger, Jr., suggest that ethical appeals are divided into extrinsic ethos, or those elements present before the speech begins, and intrinsic ethos,

¹⁹Ibid., p. 224.

²⁰Ibid., pp. 236-237.

²¹Ibid., p. 240.

which are those ethical appeals used by the speaker while communicating.²² J. C. McCroskey also adopts these categories but labels them as initial ethos, the appeals created prior to the beginning of the speech, and derived ethos, or those ethical appeals employed while communicating.²³ Experimental research by modern rhetoricians offers new definitions of the constituents of ethical proof. Carl Hovland, Irving Janus and Harold Kelly, in their studies of source credibility, have identified the constituents of ethical proof as expertness, trustworthiness and intention. McCroskey considers authoritativeness and character or trustworthiness to be the constituents of ethical proof.²⁴ D. K. Berlo and J. M. Temert describe the constituents of ethical proof as competence, trustworthiness and dynamism. The modern interpretations of these constituents (excluding dynamism) corresponds to the classical concepts of character, intelligence and good will. These modern rhetoricians assume, as did Aristotle, that a speaker is "judged by the audience in terms of its knowledge of the sources [speakers] subject of discourse, veracity and attitude toward the well-being of the audience."²⁵ The concept of dynamism, however,

²²Kenneth Anderson and Theodore Clevenger, Jr., "A Summary of Experimental Research in Ethics," Speech Monographs, 30 (June 1963), pp. 59-78.

²³James C. McCroskey, An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication (Englewood Cliffs, New Jersey: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968), pp. 58-59.

²⁴A. Craig Baird, Franklin Knowler, and Samuel Becker, General Speech Communication (4th ed.; New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1971), p. 244.

²⁵McCroskey, An Introduction to Rhetorical Communication, p. 60.

provides a new dimension to the classical view, by identifying the activity and liveliness of the speaker's delivery as a means of ethical appeal.²⁶ Finally, still other new concepts have been added, such as McCroskey's emphasis on the total ethical impression left with the audience at the end of the speech. He calls the final impression "terminal," and defines it as the prevailing ethical mood present at the completion of the speech.²⁷ Terminal ethos is the product of initial and derived ethos and should be considered by the speaker before the presentation of the discourse. This terminal effect is created from the orator's speech purpose. His primary emphasis within the speech may be drawn from either concept-centered or ethos-centered orientation. This concept-centered orientation accepts as its primary purpose the modifying of the audience's attitudes toward a proposition, whereas ethos-centered orientation is designed to enhance the ethical appeal of a particular speaker.²⁸

These modern interpretations conform to the Aristotelian concepts of ethos in two respects. First Aristotle's concept of artistic proof has been retained as "intrinsic or derived" appeals. Second, the Aristotelian constituents of ethos have been re-defined as authoritativeness, character or trustworthiness. The concentration within this particular study is the

²⁶Ibid., p. 60

²⁷Ibid., p. 59.

²⁸Ibid., p. 71.

intrinsic use of ethical appeals as artistic proof. Thonssen, Baird and Braden provide analysis of ethical proof which focuses directly upon Aristotle's constituents, i.e., character, intelligence and good will. "Character" places emphasis upon the audience's conception of the speaker's virtue. The following six characteristics may be used by the speaker to focus attention upon his character. Probity of character is created if he

(1) associates either himself or his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) bestows, with propriety, tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) links the opponent or the opponent's cause with what is not virtuous; (4) removes or minimizes unfavorable impressions of himself or his cause previously established by his opponent; (5) relies upon authority derived from his personal experience; and (6) creates the impression of being completely sincere in his undertaking.²⁹

"Intelligence" or "sagacity" denotes the speaker's attempt to demonstrate intellectual integrity and wisdom in his arguments.

The speaker can create this impression if he

(1) uses what is popularly called common sense; (2) acts with tact and moderation; (3) displays a sense of good taste; (4) reveals a broad familiarity with the interests of the day; and (5) shows through the way in which he handles speech materials that he is possessed by intellectual integrity and wisdom.³⁰

"Good will," the final constituent, refers to the speaker's close rapport with his audience. The following six principles may be used by the speaker to express good will. He must

²⁹Thonssen, Baird and Braden, Speech Criticism (2nd. ed.), pp. 458-459.

³⁰Ibid., p. 459.

(1) capture the proper balance between too much and too little praise of his audience; (2) identify himself properly with the hearers and their problems, (3) proceed with candor and straightforwardness; (4) offer necessary rebukes with tact and consideration; (5) offer any personal reasons he may have for giving the speech; and (6) reveal, without guile or exhibitionism, his personable qualities as a messenger of truth.³¹

These Aristotelian categories used by Thonssen, Baird and Braden will form the basis for a discussion of ethical proof in the selected speeches. First, Sanford's use of character will be examined with attention to the means by which he establishes himself as a man of probity. Second, the ways in which the speaker establishes himself as a man of intelligence and good sense will be considered. Finally, the speaker's presentation of himself as a man of good will and sympathetic understanding will be analyzed.

Ethical Proof

Sanford presents himself as man of good character by using several of the methods discussed by Thonssen, Baird and Braden. In establishing his character, Sanford makes use of the following methods: (1) he associates himself and his message with what is virtuous and elevated; (2) he bestows tempered praise upon himself, his client, and his cause; (3) he relies upon authority derived from his personal experience and

³¹Ibid., pp. 459-460.

(4) he creates the impression of being completely sincere.³² The following value statements, which are taken from the introduction of the selected speeches, associate his proposals with what is virtuous. In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, Sanford expresses an admirable concern for the future and welfare of children:

Tonight we must begin to swing wide the doors to the future for our children, for beyond the threshold lie the hopes and aspirations of not only our children but all the world's children.

Three days later in the Education Rally at Smithfield speech, he associates the battle for education with the ideals of World War II:

I believe this campaign we are waging for better schools is of equal--if indeed, not greater--importance than those campaigns of World War II. For the first prerequisite to democracy is an educated citizenry.

Sanford also used judicious praise for this proposal and, indirectly, for himself. In the Education Rally at Goldsboro and the Report to the People addresses, he points out the favorable reaction his program has won from nationally acclaimed figures:

Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman C. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, three leading authorities who have recently visited North Carolina, all consider this one of the best and most significant plans of school improvement in America.

In the Special Budget Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, he indirectly associates himself with those who are

³²Ibid., pp. 458-459.

"intelligent and educated," and those who have a deep love of country:

It is, as Admiral Rickover points out, "an essential civic duty for every intelligent and educated person, for every person with deep love of his country and her children, to participate in the public debate on education. . . there is no valid reason why the United States cannot have the best school system in the world."

The following example occurring in the Education Rally at Smithfield address points out how the speaker relied upon his personal experiences:

I have traveled many more miles across North Carolina during the last thirteen months, asking for this support for the schools than I traveled all through World War II. I believe this campaign we are waging for better schools is of equal--if, indeed, not greater--importance than those campaigns of World War II. For the best prerequisite to democracy is an educated citizenry.

The speaker uses personal references to establish his sincerity and integrity. In the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, Sanford stresses the difficulty of his decision: "I come to you now with the most difficult decision that I have had to make since assuming the office of Governor, and, perhaps, the most difficult of my term of office." In the Education Rally at Smithfield speech, he insists that his program is the fulfillment of previous commitments:

I have promised to work for the improvements of educational opportunities. I have always said that I would do my duty in recommending new taxes, if needed, to pay for those opportunities.

In the Report to the People discourse, he creates the impression of an honest man bravely insisting upon unpleasant truths:

If we are to have quality education, then one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it. I would not be worthy of this office were I not willing to face the fact. I cannot dodge the issue.

The speaker attempts to demonstrate sagacity, the second component of ethical proof, by (1) using what is called common sense; (2) acting with tact and moderation; and (3) showing through the way in which he handles speech materials that he is possessed of intellectual integrity and wisdom.³³ Sanford appeals to common sense in the Education Rally at Smithfield address by breaking down the total cost of his program: "Do we want to pay 30 cents on every \$10.00 worth of food in order to better prepare our children for life?" This type of appeal is used again in the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants and Report to the People speeches: ". . . substantially increasing the educational opportunities for my son and daughter and your sons and daughters is a penny and a half a day."

Sanford displays tact and moderation in the manner in which he responds to those who are opposed to him. In the Education Rally at Smithfield address, he answers his opposition by disarming their objections:

I am well aware of the hardships of paying tax on necessary items by those whose income is so low that every penny counts. But I am also aware of the greater hardship placed upon the children of these same people by inadequate school opportunities, and I have been able to devise no way the poorest can be exempt from a general sales tax. . . . Welfare payments and the distribution of free food answer the complaint raised in behalf of the

³³Ibid., p. 459.

poorest among us. I have worked with other state officials to secure for the poor of this state full advantage of the federal food surplus program. This program already is underway.

Continuing with this same theme the speaker shows wisdom in his concern for fairness in the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina:

The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of the state services to all who share in these benefits when balanced with the present income tax schedules; it is about as fair a method as possible for distributing the costs because the more a man spends, the more he pays in sales tax.

Good will, the final method of establishing ethical proof, is used by Sanford to (1) capture the proper balance of audience praise; (2) identify himself with the hearers' problems; and (3) proceed with candor and straightforwardness.³⁴

Sanford concludes his North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants address by praising his audience in terms that are flattering but not effusive:

I think it's worth it. I believe we can afford it. I am confident North Carolinians are willing to pay it. I know all of us in this state, "where the weak grow strong and the strong grow great," value our children more than money. There are more than a million children out there tonight who will grow stronger if we have the courage to accept this program. I trust you will join me in this effort.

The introduction of the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants speech presents another example of audience praise which is representative of Sanford's technique:

³⁴ Ibid., pp. 459-460.

I do not believe an audience of this type needs to be sold on education. You have, by your very presence here, demonstrated your mental abilities and your educational background.

The Washington County Union School address contains an example of Sanford's identification with his audience's problems: The goal to be reached is "our" goal, the economic and social problems to be solved are ones with which "we are all vitally concerned":

Washington County Union School is as important to the defense of our nation--if, indeed, it is not more important than the opening of a new military installation. This is true because education is tied to our every goal. We are all vitally concerned with industrial development, farm income, economic growth, the chance for all to make a better living, and the defense and growth of our state and nation.

In the Education Rally at Goldsboro speech, Sanford identifies with the problems of his hearers in a similar manner:

Education is a matter of survival. It is just that simple. And all across America we are not doing an adequate job of educating our youth for the fast moving, rapidly changing, complex scientific world. I know how North Carolina can lead the nation in the improvement of per capita income--out-educate the rest of the states!

The Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina contains an example that shows that Sanford was proceeding with candor and straightforwardness:

I have considered two possibilities with the sales tax: an increase in the rate to $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 4% , or a removal of exemptions. The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of the state services to all who

share in these benefits. When balanced with the present income tax schedules, it is about as fair a method as possible for distributing the costs because the more a man spends, the more he pays in sales tax. . . . The chief difficulty with the present sales tax is that because of so many assorted exemptions, it is extremely difficult to administer. It is difficult for the small merchant to know what he has collected, what he should collect, and what he should pay in to the state. It is impossible for the ordinary consumer to know what is taxed and what is not.

Summary

Character, intelligence and good will are used by Sanford to create an impression of his credibility. The image of a high moral character is endorsed by his association with what is considered virtuous and elevated. Here, he speaks of future hopes and aspirations for the state's children; he compares his issue with the ideals of World War II; and he insists that the state's most vital interests will be realized through education. Secondly, he uses the testimony of others to praise the worthiness of his proposal and, indirectly, himself. Thirdly, he relies on personal references to point out the time and effort that he has given to this particular issue. Finally, his character is reinforced by the impression of complete sincerity. He stresses the difficulty in reaching his decision; he explains that this particular issue is a fulfillment of previous commitments; and he bravely insists upon the unpleasant truths that his audience must realize.

Sanford demonstrates sagacity in a number of ways. First, he uses common sense in his presentation of the total cost of his program. The complex details are simplified and made comprehensible. Next he uses tact and moderation in answering his opposition. Finally, his intellectual wisdom is demonstrated in his concern for fairness to all his constituents.

Good will, the final method of ethical artistic proof used within the selected speeches, is reflected by Sanford's use of audience praise to win a favorable impression. Sanford identifies with his audience's problems by expressing interest in those issues that concern them. Lastly, he shows candor and straightforwardness by telling his audience of the advantages and disadvantages of his proposal. These ethical constituents are nicely balanced within the speeches, for the speaker gives them equal weight and does not rely excessively on one technique.

CHAPTER V

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

A number of interesting conclusions can be drawn from the foregoing discussion of Terry Sanford's speeches. Sanford's use of each of the constituents of artistic proof will be examined in light of the Aristotelian theory, and second, his argumentative scheme will be examined to summarize his technique.

As indicated by Aristotle and modern interpretations, the speaker's use of artistic proof related directly to the success of his persuasive discourse. The success of the logical constituent, argument, depends upon the speaker's adaptive skill.

Sanford asserts in his speech proposition that he has developed a "far reaching program" or a "plan for education" that will provide "quality education" if payed for by his constituents. He states this same proposition, either directly or indirectly, in all of the speeches and in so doing provides a unifying thesis from which his lines of argument are derived. (1) Need, (2) plan and (3) benefits provide the three major lines of argument in the selected speeches. He developed these three issues as follows: (1) the need is reinforced by showing that the present system has caused certain evils; (2) the plan

is reinforced by showing that his solution would remove these evils; and (3) the benefits are reinforced by showing that his solution would not only remove these evils but also would bring about additional benefits.

The need issue is introduced in most instances by a direct reference to the need for school improvements. In developing this issue, Sanford reaches the identical conclusion through induction and deduction which is that North Carolina needs educational improvements. The induction argument is found in the following addresses: (1) Education Rally at Smithfield; (2) North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants; (3) Report to the People; and (4) Washington County Union School. The pattern for the argument is formed by stating statistical examples which conclude with the implied generalization that there is a need for a tax program to improve public schools. This line of argument is supported further by deduction. The enthymeme, "I think that all of us, no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvements of the public schools," occurs in the (1) Education Rally at Smithfield, (2) the North Carolina Association of Certified Public Accountants and (3) the Washington County Union School addresses. In these speeches the major premise and conclusions are implied and the enthymeme can then be converted into a hypothetical syllogism:

If the greatest need in the state is improvement
for education, then we ought to solve this problem.

"... there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of Public schools."

Therefore, we ought to solve this problem.

The plan of argument is introduced through references to the cost of Sanford's proposal to the tax payer. First, Sanford supports his plan by induction, arguing from specific instances (1) that the present sources of revenue are inadequate as means of financing his program, (2) that leading authorities consider this particular plan to be better than most plans. Second, through enthymematic reasoning, he suggests that quality education will have to be paid for. In the (1) Report to the People, (2) Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina and (3) Education Rally at Smithfield speeches, the inductive process is realized through inferences from specific instances. Here, an inductive argument composed of examples of inadequate tax sources is presented, followed by the implied generalization that present sources of revenue are inadequate for funding an effective program of education. A second instance of induction used to support the plan is found in the Education Rally at Goldsboro and the Report to the People speeches. Testimony of three leading authorities are used as typical instances leading to the generalization that recognized authorities agree that this is "one of the best and most significant plans [i.e., the B Budget Request] of school improvements in America." The final argument used to support the plan can be thought of as reasoning by hypothetical syllogism via the enthymeme; it

occurs in the (1) Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina, (2) Education Rally at Goldsboro and (3) Report to the People. All three of the enthymemes refer to paying for quality education and can be converted into a hypothetical syllogism:

If quality education is to be achieved then we must pay for it.

Quality education must be achieved.

Therefore, we must pay for it.

Sanford introduced his benefits by mentioning that his proposal would enhance the educational opportunity and that it would be the "... best investment the State ever made." Through his one inductive argument, Sanford points out the stipulative benefits of his proposal and through his two deductive arguments he points to fairness and the additional benefits of his proposal. In the Report to the People speech, the inductive argument is developed by specific instances and the generalization implies that the B Budget Request will provide certain stipulative benefits. The enthymeme "the sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of state services. . . ." is found in the Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina speech. This enthymeme can be converted to a hypothetical syllogism:

If the sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of state services, then it should be approved as a new source of taxation.

"The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of state services. . . ."

Therefore, it should be approved as a new source of taxation.

A second enthymeme which is implied in the same address can be converted to a categorical syllogism:

Any plan that benefits a variety of institutions should be adopted.

The sales tax benefits a variety of institutions (e.g., mental hospitals, welfare, prison budget and highway fund).

Therefore, the sales tax should be adopted.

Sanford uses three types of evidence to support his three lines of argument in the selected speeches. He uses statistics most often and all six of the speeches contain statistical data to support the need and plan issues. Second in importance is Sanford's use of testimony. Three instances of testimony are used to support his plan line of argument. Finally, the example is infrequently used in support of the lines of argument. Two speeches include examples used as logical proof.

Sanford complied to the Aristotelian concept of logos in developing his argumentative scheme. Examples of inductive and deductive reasoning are found in all six speeches. Although all the lines of argument were developed inductively, the Report to the People was the only speech in which the need, plan and benefits issues were constructed by inferences from specific instances. The Special Message to the General Assembly of North Carolina was the only speech that employed a hypothetical enthymeme to support both plan and benefits and also contained

a categorical enthymeme to support benefits. These particular speeches were unique because the benefit issue was only developed in the above addresses. Sanford used evidence to support both his need and plan issues. In six speeches statistics are used to support need and plan; testimony is used in three speeches to support plan and one example used to support need was adequately developed.

Emotional proof, which is used by the orator as a second method of support for his assertions, should be viewed as of equal importance with logical proof. Sanford uses five of the common motive appeals. The most effective examples are found in the introductions and discussions where the speaker is more directly involved in his issues. The appeals to fear and family life are developed less effectively than appeals to patriotism, social responsibility and fair play. Fear and family life are less effective because the orator relies upon abstract language that would only arouse a vague response in the members of the audience. Patriotism is used more effectively because the speaker, through his use of language, creates an equation that is identifiable. The final two appeals, social responsibility and fair play, are vital to the acceptance of his proposal and thus by their very nature are developed to a greater extent.

The central result of Sanford's use of emotional proof is to create an impression of crisis. His emotional images are used to indicate the immediate danger of the educational crisis that is facing the state. Sanford has interpreted the

Aristotelian concept, pathos, appropriately and this statement suggests that he understood the emotional state of his audience at the time of his speech and that he clearly understood those things which would dispose them favorably toward his subject.

Ethical proof is a constituent of artistic proof when it is used to make the speaker worthy of belief. The speaker's credibility is established through the impression of character, intelligence and good will presented in his arguments. Sanford builds his impression of character by: (1) comparing his issue with the ideals of World War II; (2) using testimony to praise his proposal and thus himself; (3) relying on personal experiences to show his interest in his proposal; and (4) relating the difficulty he had in deciding upon this proposal which shows sincerity. Sagacity is expressed by: (1) his use of common sense in presenting a simplified breakdown of the costs of his proposal; (2) his use of tact and moderation is shown in the way in which he answers his opposition; and (3) his intellectual wisdom is demonstrated in his concern for fairness to all. An impression of good will is presented by: (1) praising his audience; (2) identifying with his audience's problems; and (3) being straightforward in pointing out the advantages and disadvantages of his proposal.

Ethical proof occurs throughout the introductions, discussions and conclusions of the speeches, and Sanford's use of such proof conforms to Aristotelian standards. References to character are concentrated within the introductions and are used

to establish a speaker-audience commitment. Here, virtue, praise, personal experience and sincerity are used to establish the speaker credibility upon which the remainder of speech is based. Examples of sagacity are found in the discussions where the three issues are being presented. Common sense, moderation and intellectual wisdom are appropriately intermingled to reinforce the speaker's reputation for intelligence. The references to good will, balanced audience praise and problem identification, are found in the introductions and conclusions, and the reference to straightforwardness occurs throughout the speech.

In order to gain a more complete understanding of Sanford's persuasive technique, it will be necessary to look at the place of artistic proof within the argumentative scheme. The Education Rally at Smithfield address will be used as illustration. (The examples used to illustrate this point are all quoted within the preceding chapters.) The introduction of this speech includes references to character, with emphasis placed upon virtue, personal experience, and sincerity. Also contained here are examples of social responsibility and patriotism. It must be noted that Sanford freely interchanges emotional and ethical appeals; thus for the most part emotional examples are presented with ethical overtones. His proposition occurs at the end of the introduction and is used to create interest for his proposal.

At the beginning of his discussion the need issue is suggested by a sixteen-point statistical analysis which is then further substantiated by a hypothetical enthymeme. Sanford then

implies his plan issue by presenting an inductive argument composed of inferences from specific instances. One of these examples was used earlier to point his use of the historical example. Immediately following his inductive generalization further reference to emotional and ethical proof are made. Sagacity is shown through his use of moderation and the entire section is structured around an emotional appeal to fair play. The concluding remarks are quite short and once again the speaker is attempting to build his character. Two unique characteristics emerge from the structuring of his artistic proof within the speech. First, the speaker develops an alternating pattern in his use of proof and second, Sanford begins and concludes his speech with ethical and emotional proof.

His use of artistic proof is also balanced within the individual speech parts. This implies that he did not rely excessively on one type of proof; for the varied audiences within these speech situations naturally required a sufficient variety of artistic proof to hold their interest.

Also, the passage of the tax proposal itself stands as strong evidence that he appropriately understood and used the Aristotelian methods of persuasion.

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SPECIAL MESSAGE TO THE GENERAL ASSEMBLY
OF NORTH CAROLINA

GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD

Hall of the House
Monday, March 6, 1961 -- 8:00 p.m.

Tonight--on this sixth day of March, Nineteen Hundred and Sixty-One--we must take a deliberate, penetrating look at the future.

Tonight we must begin to swing wide the doors to the future for our children, for beyond the threshold lie the hopes and aspirations of not only our children but all the world's children.

The last great hope of the world is Democracy as we know it, and North Carolina must once again rally to the cause; just as it has from Kings Mountain to the Yalu River.

Today we do not take up the sword. Instead, we take up the pen, the educational pen. We put the pen into the uncertain, eager hands of our youth, for we know they must--and they will--write the future history of North Carolina, and indeed of the nation and the free world.

Any achievement by man requires sacrifice--and tonight we must look together at a small measure of sacrifice.

I do not come to you expecting popular acclaim for what I have to say. I do come to do my duty in full confidence that you in turn will do your duty.

When I presented the Budget to the General Assembly, I asked that you allow me to return to recommend additional funds to meet the basic needs for school improvement.

I have explained time and again that I believe the economic, social and moral development of our state depends largely on an expanding program of quality education second to none.

I have explained time and again that I believe it is time that North Carolina provide the opportunities that will put this state in the front ranks of our community of states.

I have explained to you my reasons for believing that the Budget is inadequate to achieve the public education goals we must set for our state. I am sure that it is generally acknowledged that we have not done all we can do.

I come to you now with the most difficult decision that I have had to make since assuming the office of Governor, and, perhaps, the most difficult of my term of office.

I come to you now with the most difficult decision of your service in this session.

It has not been difficult, however, to decide that something must be done about our schools. This is obvious to all.

It has not been difficult to concede that if we want to do the job, we will have to pay for it. This is admitted by all.

Having concluded we must take decisive steps for school improvement, and having concluded, we must have more money; the difficult decision is what sources will best distribute equitably the costs among all the citizens of the state.

I have examined many sources and I have come to decisions which I recommend to you now in the firm belief that this is the way to move North Carolina forward--the way to swing open the doors to our children.

I have considered every possible source of taxation, and I will mention some of these sources which have been widely discussed.

I looked carefully at the tax on whiskey, beer and wine. Beer and wine are already taxed at a rate which appears to me to be as high as reasonably consistent with our regulatory responsibilities. I have studied the effect of a recent tax increase on whiskey in Virginia, which drove the sale "to the woods" and diminished the total receipts from this source. Therefore, I concluded that to make the tax on whiskey too high would be self-defeating and therefore ought to be avoided. However, I am convinced that to increase this tax by an amount of 20% of the present tax would not reach the point of diminishing returns. Such an increase from 10% to 12% would bring in an additional amount of \$3,000,000 for the biennium, and therefore I recommend this as one of our sources.

I have looked carefully at the so-called "crown tax" on soft drinks. It is argued with considerable merit that there is no more justification for a special tax on soft drinks than on ice cream cone, a chocolate soda, a Baby Ruth or a package of

potato chips. It is a fact that one cent on a bottle would result in taxing soft drinks at almost double the rate we tax whiskey. The states which have adopted this source have discovered that sales diminish and a large percentage of bottlers go out of business. Thus, the tax defeats itself. Only two states now have such a tax, and I am advised that one of these will probably repeal the tax this year. It seems fairer to me to tax soft drinks at the rate of three percent as a part of the regular sales tax, and this is already being done.

A great many people have said to me that we should tax tobacco products, and a great many people have said we should not. The principal reason given for putting a tax on cigarettes is that people who smoke, whether rich or poor, can afford to pay the tax. Representatives from over half of the counties have advised me that they do not believe it wise to put a special tax on tobacco. Many of them report that they pledged against such a special tax during their campaigns for election. Many people will be surprised to find such a widespread sentiment against this special tax, and frankly I do not fully understand the sentiment. The most logical explanation I have heard is that North Carolina is the leading tobacco producer and the leading manufacturer, and our leaders of the industry have the burden of fighting such taxes in other states, where, in many instances, they have been levied in unfair amounts. Consequently, I do not now recommend a special tax, but recommend that tobacco products be taxed at the rate of three per cent along with other similar commodities, as is now the case.

I have considered a state tax on real estate and other property. Most states put the greatest burden of school support on real estate taxes. We departed from that concept some years ago, deciding to leave this source to the limited use of county and city government. Real estate is more static, and in time of economic depression has little or no earning capacity, so taxation of this source has in times past resulted in hardships and loss of farms and other property by foreclosure. More than a quarter of a century ago we made the basic decision to tax money, rather than property, and I oppose any change in this long-accepted approach.

We decided then to obtain our chief support for schools and state functions from money earned and money spent. Thus, the sales tax, the income tax, and the gasoline tax have been the basic support of state operations.

The income tax has been a steady, expanding source of revenue for the state and has distributed the burden to those best able to pay as measured by income. This is a fair and equitable tax, but already the state is receiving substantial

revenue from the income tax, and the Federal government is taxing this source almost to the breaking point. There is no real hope of relief from federal taxation until the cold war is won, and an increase by the state would, it must be admitted by all, be too burdensome. I believe those best able to pay should carry the heaviest burden of taxation, but even a casual glance at income tax rates will convince you that this is already the case. Therefore, I recommend that we do not change our rate of income tax.

I have considered two possibilities with the sales tax: an increase in the rate to $3\frac{1}{2}\%$ or 4%, or a removal of exemptions.

The sales tax is fair in distributing the costs of the state services to all who share in these benefits. When balanced with the present income tax schedules, it is about as fair a method as possible for distributing the costs because the more a man spends, the more he pays in sales tax.

The chief difficulty with the present sales tax is that because of so many assorted exemptions, it is extremely difficult to administer. It is difficult for the small merchant to know what he has collected, what he should collect, and what he should pay in to the state. It is impossible for the ordinary consumer to know what is taxed and what is not.

Our statistics and study show that: (1) increasing the tax to 4% on shoes and clothing and other items would reach approximately the same people, in the same amounts, as a tax across the board, on all items, without exemption; and (2) we now collect the lowest sales tax per capita of all the 34 states having a sales tax, probably because of our many exemptions which make administration and collection difficult.

Therefore, it is my recommendation that you remove all exemptions from the sales tax.

I will submit a proposed bill which will place the tax at three per cent across the board, except it will place only one per cent on the farm and industrial group of items and equipment used in production, and only two percent on motor vehicles with the present top limitations. It will not tax those items such as products of the farm sold for further processing and subsequent taxation, and gasoline already taxed by another method.

I am well aware of the hardships of paying tax on necessary items by those whose income is so low that every penny counts. But I am also aware of the greater hardship placed upon the children of these same people by inadequate school opportunities, and I have been able to devise no way that the poorest

can be exempt from a general sales tax. Welfare payments and the distribution of free food answer this complaint raised in behalf of the poorest among us, and the poor who do not receive these payments, I predict, will be willing to do their share in order that we might have a strong tax structure which will support the schools which will give their children a better chance in life. A patchwork tax structure, with special taxes on special items, will not give us the kind of tax structure we must have if our schools are to grow as our population grows.

I know that this will place extra burdens on many merchants. However, I have no doubt about their general response. They are responsible and civic-minded. I think that the merchants of this state have never been given adequate praise for their participation in the support of the needs of the people of North Carolina. Through their efforts to make the sales tax effective beginning in 1933, they literally saved the public schools. Now again, they are called on to do their part in making our school system better. I express my thanks for what they have already done for the State, and deep appreciation for what they are yet to do.

If you will authorize these taxes we will be able to take a giant stride forward in lifting up the chances of our boys and girls.

We will be able to adopt the "B" Budget requests of the State Board of Education, a group of conscientious, dedicated and prudent business, professional, and civic leaders who are devoted to the cause of education and the State of North Carolina.

There is no better informed group than your State Board of Education. I have studied all their requests. They have carefully balanced all of the most urgent needs, and we must have the program they have laid before us. I recommend it to you without reservation. It will be explained in detail at hearings before the Joint Appropriations Committee, by the Board of Education and Department of Public Instruction representatives.

The recommended changes in the tax structure will bring in an estimated \$83,000,000 during the next biennium.

Meeting the budget requests of the Board of Education will require \$70,000,000. This will leave a balance of \$13,000,000.

All of us have been able to take great pride in our University and colleges. We can demonstrate that they have

contributed much beyond their cost to the life and growth and happiness of our State.

I would not have us slow their progress as the price of accelerating our efforts for second education. Rather, I know we must continue to improve our colleges if we are to continue to prosper and grow. The Budget I presented earlier provides for substantial improvements.

Each president is presenting to you requests above the Advisory Budget Commission recommendations, but less than the original "B" Budget requests. I believe that we can adjust these figures to about \$3,000,000 and continue to have a vital, moving program of higher education.

There will be some other urgent needs, and I recommend that you consider adding to the proposed appropriations as already submitted the following increases: mental hospitals, \$500,000; welfare, including a wider distribution of surplus food, \$2,000,000; other agencies and institutions, plus a reasonable margin for a reserve, \$3,500,000.

Through the Budget Bureau, I will consider carefully with you the line items involved in these increases.

This will leave a balance of \$4,000,000. I will later have a detailed report for you on the status of the finances of the State Highway Department, but I can tell you now that because of matching federal funds there is virtually nothing left for secondary road construction. This ties in with the proper consideration of school needs, because an urgent requirement is road improvement if we are to be able to move the school buses. One superintendent in an adjoining county reported more than forty school buses stuck in one week. I recommend that this sum of \$4,000,000 be applied in partial support of the prison budget, that an equal amount be released to the highway fund for use in urgently needed secondary road construction.

I want to remind the professional school people what I have said in many ways and on many occasions. I am asking the General Assembly to ask the people to provide more adequate financial support for the schools, but I am going to be even more demanding of the school people for improved performance up and down the line. If the General Assembly and the people provide increased appropriations, then it is up to us to do our part in improving our performance in every other respect. I propose to work in every field of school activity to improve the level and standard of performance. We will continue our curriculum study and improvement, our search for methods of rewarding merit and superior performance; our efforts to achieve

all of those things we can do without additional money. In other words, I am saying that we realize that money is only a part of what we need to achieve the quality we seek, and we are pledging to the people to complete the job in every respect.

I realize the task of the public servant is never easy and frequently extremely difficult. I know, however, that you are here because of an abiding desire to serve the cause of Democracy and I know that your presence here involves a personal financial sacrifice in every instance.

You will receive some good advice, some bad advice, some fair and some unfair pressure. I know that you realize this is part of the price of public service, and that you will take it all, good and bad, without complaint.

Over two years ago at Durham I outlined my hope that the people would become so interested in education that they would demand better schools, and would be willing to support this effort. I said then that I wanted some way to get the people involved, concerned, excited, and ready to go to work to achieve quality education.

The quality we seek cannot be delivered by the General Assembly, although only you can start the march. Quality is complex, difficult, constant in required attention, and it will demand the best in effort by school boards, the state agencies, the superintendents, the principals, the teachers, the parents, the students, and indeed all of the citizens of the state. And this is no single-shot affair. It will require attention year after year after year. It is, as Admiral Rickover points out, "an essential civic duty for every intelligent and educated person, for every person with deep love of his country and her children, to participate in the public debate on education. . . there is no valid reason why the United States cannot have the best school system in the world."

I would like to see every citizen understand the need and the problem, caught up and taking part, willing not only to supply the money but anxious to supply the continuing interest without which our expenditures will have been in vain.

I think I know how we can obtain this interest and continuing support.

I recommend that you enact the tax revision I have suggested, that the new schedule become effective July 1, 1961, for the coming biennium, and that the proposition be submitted to a vote of the people next fall to determine whether this tax and level of support will be continued after July 1, 1963.

As we start this mighty crusade, the first and fundamental decision should be supported by all of the people. We should give notice that every person is involved. We should demonstrate that we are united, and that we will continue our dedication until we lead the nation in school opportunities for our children.

In this way you are not "passing the buck." We are simply asking all the people to join with us.

I have faith in the vision of our people. If you will do this, I will join with you this fall in carrying our crusade to every county in this state.

In this way the people will understand what we are doing, will participate in our decisions, and we in North Carolina will be ready to move.

In reaching the decisions I have outlined today, I have been guided in my deliberations by my trust in people and my faith in the Divine Power without whose help no human endeavor can succeed. As I turn these decisions over to you, I leave with you the refrain that has in these past weeks occupied my mind. It comes from a well-known hymn:

Grant us wisdom,
Grant us courage,
For the facing of this hour.

The hour is at hand when North Carolina can begin its bold march forward. We begin this march in these halls by reaching out and grasping the hands of our priceless possession, our children and our grandchildren.

The hand we grasp today is the strong handclasp to the future, the hand of a leader in the world's struggles.

I thank you for your attention to the future of North Carolina.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD AT
EDUCATION RALLY AT SMITHFIELD

Smithfield High School Gymnasium
Thursday, March 9, 1961 -- 8:15 p.m.

I come to you here tonight to continue the campaign seeking the support of the adults of this state for the children of this state. I have traveled many more miles across North Carolina during the last thirteen months, asking for this support for the schools, than I traveled all through World War II. I believe this campaign we are waging for better schools is of equal--if, indeed, not greater--importance than those campaigns of World War II. For the first prerequisite to democracy is an educated citizenry.

The decision on whether our schools shall be improved and whether the education of our children shall be the first order of business is now in the hands of the people of this state and their elected representatives.

I have promised to work for the improvement of educational opportunities. I have always said that I would do my duty in recommending new taxes, if needed, to pay for those opportunities.

I have proposed a far-reaching program.

I have now proposed to your elected representatives in the General Assembly the means of financing the part of the program which requires expenditures.

The question of our schools and the question of our children's education is now in your hands and the hands of your fellow citizens across the state.

Are you willing to pay the price for the education of your children?

I think that all of us, no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of the public schools. There are too many unhappy statistics which cry out that need.

Let's look at the record and see how our state compares with our sister states in education.

North Carolina ranks 45th among the 50 states in the amount of money we spend on each child going to school. We spend an average of \$240 a year for the education of each of our school children in North Carolina. The average American child has \$369 a year spent on him.

North Carolina ranks 40th in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for local schools.

North Carolina ranks 41st in per capita expenditure of state and local governments for all public education.

North Carolina in the last decade raised the rate of teachers' salaries less than any other state in the Union. Our teachers' salaries were low in 1950 and far below the national average. After ten years, those salaries were appreciably farther below the national average.

North Carolina ranks 41st in pupil-teacher ratio. That means that 30 states give teachers smaller class loads than we require teachers of this state to teach.

Now let's look at some figures with a close correlation to those I have just listed. Let's look at the result of our poor support of our children's education.

North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in the per cent of adults with college diplomas.

North Carolina ranks 41st among the states in the per cent of our population 14 years old and older who are illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the per cent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

North Carolina ranks 45th in the per cent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they were illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 47th among the 50 states in the median school years completed by adults (that is, persons 25 years old or older).

North Carolina ranks 48th among the 50 states in the percentage of our adult population who are high school graduates.

Now let's look at one more brief set of statistics. I rather suspect there is a strong cause-and-effect relationship between the figures I have already listed and these I am about to list.

North Carolina ranks 37th among the states in migration.

North Carolina ranks 43rd in per capita disposable income.

North Carolina ranks 45th in per capita income.

Lest someone accuse me of looking only on the dark side, let me point out that North Carolina ranks 8th among the states in the number of school children. That is our greatest asset.

But we have cultivated our children's minds less well than we have cultivated our tobacco and cotton and peanut acres.

We have given proportionately less attention to the maintenance of schools than we have to the maintenance of wardrobes, our automobiles and our kitchen stoves.

North Carolina is rightly concerned when anyone attempts to lower our tobacco parity of 90 per cent.

Yet we have let our children's educational parity fall to less than 66 per cent.

I could go on reciting statistics until midnight, but I believe the ones you have just heard will convince any sensible person of the need.

These are the facts, these are the figures that we must weigh when we consider the admittedly unhappy prospect of new taxes. These are the facts that I had to consider before I went before the General Assembly of North Carolina Monday night with the special budget message on education. These are the facts your elected representatives of the General Assembly must weigh in the coming months.

These unhappy facts are the facts that every citizen must weigh.

The decision on the future of North Carolina schools is the decision that will determine in large measure the future of our children. And, it is true, that the future of North Carolina will be determined by the children.

That decision is in the hands of you, the adult citizens of North Carolina.

Now in the last three days, there has been some talk that runs about like this: "Yes, I favor the Governor's program for better schools and better educational opportunities for my children, but I don't like his tax idea."

Now we all agree that taxes are unpleasant.

But I know of few things in this world, though, that don't require a price of some sort.

The Battle of the Bulge was not something that GI's went into because they wanted to. They went in it and they

fought and they stuck because it was absolutely necessary to do so. The alternative was worse than the fighting, the freezing, the bleeding and even the dying.

There was never a church built in North Carolina that didn't require someone's sacrifice. There was never a foreign mission established for which someone didn't have to pay in discomfort or even suffering.

I am confident of the answer the General Assembly of North Carolina will give to this program. I have faith in the people's decision on this program.

Our state's record is too clear to doubt that decision. Our grandfathers who supported Aycock at the turn of the century and our fathers who supported the sales tax during the depression have left a strong heritage to guide us.

Now let us look at the cost of better schools and better educational opportunities for our children.

I have proposed an across-the-board sales tax to pay for the program.

I did so only after the most careful and conscientious consideration. I eliminated getting the money for improving the schools from the income tax because the federal government has just about exhausted that source.

I eliminated the property tax because that is the chief and one of the few taxes for local and county governments in paying for the necessary services they provide.

I did not propose the crown tax on soft drinks for the same reason that I did not propose a tax on candy bars, peanuts, or ice cream cones. We already have a three percent tax on these items.

I did not propose additional taxes on cigarettes. Cigarettes are heavily taxed by the federal government, we tax them at three percent, and it would not bring in enough money to begin to do the job.

I did propose as large an increase in whiskey taxes as I believe we could collect without driving trade to the woods.

This talk that tax should be put on whiskey and cigarettes and luxuries before we tax food and the other items that we will tax by eliminating the exemptions, is misleading and ignores the fact that whiskey, beer, wine, cigarettes and the "luxuries" are already taxed.

So, we must turn inevitably to the sales tax. There we have two choices: raise the rate on the items now taxed from three to four per cent or eliminate the exemptions.

I fail to see that you treat the "poor man" any better by raising the tax he must pay when buying his children blue jeans and shoes and socks and underclothes than by eliminating the exemptions.

For that matter, an additional tax on cigarettes or on soft drinks will hit the poor man just as hard as it does the wealthy. The poor man drinks as much "pop" and smokes just as much as the rich man. I'm not saying a poor man should smoke or drink soda. But you and I know he does.

Now what about this tax on food. And when we talk of eliminating the sales tax exemptions to raise the funds for better schools we are talking about a tax on food. There is no beating around the bush about it, for \$50 million in the program for education will be derived from the tax on food. This brings us to a very simple decision. Do we want to pay 30¢ on every \$10.00 worth of food in order to better prepare our children for life. I honestly know of no other way.

I am well aware of the hardships of paying tax on necessary items by those whose income is so low that every penny counts. But I am also aware of the greater hardship placed upon the children of these same people by inadequate school opportunities, and I have been able to devise no way that the poorest can be exempt from a general sales tax.

Welfare payments and the distribution of free food answer the complaint raised in behalf of the poorest among us. I have worked with other state officials to secure for the poor of this state full advantage of the federal food surplus program. This program already is underway.

I hope that those who may be tempted to speak out against the food tax will suggest some painless way we can get the money.

I hope they will explain why it is fair to tax the food which persons, including the poor, who must "eat out" pay on food at cafes and restaurants. As you know, we have been taxing that food since 1933. I hope they will remember that 26 of the 35 states with sales tax, do NOT exempt food.

I hope also they will remember that if we tax bread we also will be taxing cake; if we tax fatback, we also will tax caviar; if we tax corn meal, we also will tax filet mignon.

No one is going to go hungry because of this tax.

But the children of North Carolina will go thirsty for quality education if we do not enact this program for better schools.

The decision is just as simple as that. I am not trying to thrust anything upon the people. I am trying to do my duty to serve the future of our children, and I hope you will decide to help pay the cost in order to have the quality of schools the future demands.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD TO
NORTH CAROLINA ASSOCIATION OF CERTIFIED
PUBLIC ACCOUNTANTS

Carolina Inn, Chapel Hill, N. C.
Saturday, March 18, 1961 - 7:30 p. m.

I would like to discuss some figures with you, the Certified Public Accountants of North Carolina, tonight.

Specifically, I want to discuss with you cents with a "C" and sense with an "S."

I do not believe an audience of this type needs to be sold on education. You have, by your very presence here, demonstrated your mental abilities and your educational background. Otherwise you would not be CPAs.

I think that all of us, no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of the public schools. There are too many unhappy statistics which cry out that need.

Let's look at the record and see how our state compares with our sister states in education.

North Carolina ranks 45th among the 50 states in the amount of money we spend on each child going to school. We spend an average of \$240 a year for the education of each of our school children in North Carolina. The average American child has \$369 a year spent on him.

North Carolina ranks 40th in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for local schools.

North Carolina ranks 41st in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for all public education.

North Carolina in the last decade raised the rate of teachers' salaries less than any other state in the Union. Our teachers' salaries were low in 1950 and far below the national average. After ten years, those salaries were appreciably farther below the national average.

North Carolina ranks 41st in pupil-teacher ratio. That means that 40 states give teachers smaller class loads than we require teachers of this state to teach.

Now let's look at some figures with a close correlation to those I have just listed. Let's look at the result of our poor support of our children's education.

North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in the per cent of adults with college diplomas.

North Carolina ranks 41st among the states in the per cent of our population 14 years old and older who are illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the per cent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

North Carolina ranks 45th in the per cent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they were illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 47th among the 50 states in the median school years completed by adults (that is, persons 25 years old or older).

North Carolina ranks 48th among the 50 states in the percentage of our adult population who are high school graduates.

Now let's look at one more brief set of statistics. I rather suspect there is a strong cause-and-effect relationship between the figures I have already listed and those I am about to list.

North Carolina ranks 37th among the states in migration.

North Carolina ranks 43rd in per capita disposal income.

North Carolina ranks 45th in per capita income.

Lest someone accuse me of looking only on the dark side, let me point out that North Carolina ranks 8th among the states in the number of school children. That is our greatest asset.

But we have cultivated our children's minds less well than we have cultivated our tobacco and cotton and peanut acres.

We have given proportionately less attention to the maintenance of schools than we have to the maintenance of wardrobes, our automobiles and our kitchen stoves.

North Carolina is rightly concerned when anyone attempts to lower our tobacco parity of 90 per cent.

Yet we have let our children's educational parity fall to less than 66 per cent.

I could go on reciting statistics until midnight, but I believe the ones you have just heard will convince any sensible person of the need.

These are the facts, these are the figures that we must weigh when we consider the admittedly unhappy prospect of new taxes. These are the facts that I had to consider before I went before the General Assembly of North Carolina with the special budget message on education. These are the facts your elected representatives of the General Assembly must weigh in the coming months.

These unhappy facts are the facts that every citizen must weigh.

The decision on the future of North Carolina schools is the decision that will determine in large measure the future of our children. And, it is true, that the future of North Carolina will be determined by the children.

That decision is in the hands of you, the adult citizens of North Carolina.

Now what will it cost us in North Carolina to improve the educational opportunities of our children?

I have proposed to the General Assembly of North Carolina the allocation of an additional \$70 million to the amount recommended by the Advisory Budget Commission. (I also have recommended another \$13 million which will be divided between the Consolidated University of North Carolina and the other state-supported colleges, the mental hospitals, the Department of Public Welfare and the Highway Department for building roads.)

As you know, North Carolina, like a good CPA, keeps her books balanced. State law requires a balanced budget.

So when I recommended additional expenditures, I recommended definite revenue sources to provide the funds for the schools and these other necessary public services.

To provide \$83 million more for the public needs of North Carolinians, I asked \$83 million more in taxes from the people.

These additional taxes are going to be the best investment this State ever made. They are going to net us as

individuals and as a state the best return on any investment we ever made.

Inasmuch as only a CPA generally comprehends figures that run into the tens of millions, I have tried to break the figures of the cost of this program down to a common denominator.

More has been said about the tax on food than any of the other taxes involved in the program. We know that it will provide \$50 million of the \$83 million we need in the coming biennium. Let's see just what this food tax will cost the average citizen.

I'll tell you what it means.

It means a penny and a half per citizen per day.

Of course, if you want to carry this to the hundreths, it will cost each citizen 1.52 cents per day.

If you want to check my arithmetic on this, divide \$50 million by two years and then divide the \$25 million by 4,556,155 persons who live in our state.

Now divide that by 365 days.

Unless my arithmetic is wrong, this means the cost of substantially increasing the educational opportunities for my son and daughter and your sons and daughters is a penny and a half a day.

Now, let's multiply a bit.

What will this penny and a half a day mean to our children?

It will mean that the minimum program found necessary by the business and professional leaders who constitute our State Board of Education will be met.

That program contemplates adding \$45 a year to the money we spend for each of our children. Now remember, that \$45 would be added to the \$240 we have been spending each year for each child.

This is not so drastic an increase when you recall that the national average is \$369. You see, we will still be well below the national average even with this increase.

Look at it still another way. This program would add a quarter a day to the education of each of our children. The

cost will include a penny and a half a day in additional taxes on grocery bills.

I think it's worth it.

I believe we can afford it.

I am confident North Carolinians are willing to pay it.

I know all of us in this state, "where the weak grow strong and the strong grow great," value our children more than money.

There are more than a million children out there tonight who will grow stronger if we have the courage to adopt this program.

I trust you will join me in this effort.

ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD TO
EDUCATION RALLY

Goldsboro High School, Goldsboro, N.C.
Monday, March 20, 1961 -- 8:30 p.m.

A SENSE OF VALUES

I have come here tonight, to the home place of Charles Brantly Aycock, to speak through the magic of radio to the people of North Carolina.

The message is similar to the message delivered across this state by Governor Aycock at the turn of the century--that all of our hopes and dreams are founded on the manner, the degree, the quality of education we provide for our boys and girls.

The magic of radio, however, is not similar. It is radically different, and illustrates, as words cannot, the different degree of education demanded of us today. Aycock traveled by train and by buggy and the printed word was his chief means of communication. Tonight it is commonplace that radio stations scattered across this state carry this program to every community.

The first time I heard a radio was the Gene Tunney-Jack Dempsey prizefight, when my Daddy took my brother and me to the shoe repair shop where one of the few radio sets in Laurinburg was located. Today, while radio still supplies information and entertainment for millions, it nevertheless seems almost old-fashioned.

Now we receive not only messages but pictures, and not only from earth transmittal towers, but from satellite missiles hurtling around the earth.

Within our lifetime, I expect a man will travel to the moon in less time than it took Governor Aycock to travel from Goldsboro to Bryson City. Certainly, every day, many men travel from Charlotte to San Francisco and back in fewer hours than it took Aycock to make a round-trip to Raleigh.

Knowledge is now multiplying at a faster rate than at any time in the history of civilization.

Knowledge, trained minds, education take on proportions of importance they never had before.

Education is a matter of survival. It is just that simple. And all across America we are not doing an adequate

job of educating our youth for the fast moving, rapidly changing, complex, scientific world.

I know how North Carolina can lead the nation in the improvement of per capita income--out-educate the rest of the states! We can do it.

I know how the United States can lead the world, and survive the cold war, through its scientists, its diplomats, its comprehending citizenry. Education!

I believe in the program of school improvement called for by the State Board of Education. This Board, made up of outstanding men of wide experience, is charged with planning the program of our schools. From all the many immediate needs they have picked the most urgent, and have shaped them together in a program of enrichment which is the foundation, the beginning point, of our long-range plan for quality education.

I believe in our long-range plan for quality education. In this we go far beyond what money will do, recognizing that there are many other areas requiring improvement.

Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, three leading authorities who have recently visited North Carolina, all consider this one of the best and most significant plans of school improvement in America.

This all comes down to a sense of values for North Carolinians. We must measure our needs against the costs. We must measure our opportunities against the price of fulfilling these opportunities.

I have measured them but I do not have the final word and do not desire to have it.

We have a plan for progress in education I believe will do the job. I think it is an excellent plan. I think all of our future development and expansion depends on the quality of our education.

I believe we must have this quality education program, that it worth almost any temporary sacrifice. But the final decision is not mine, and it should not be mine. It is up to you, the citizens of North Carolina.

If we are to have it, then one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it.

I would not be worthy of this office were I not willing to fact this fact. I could not dodge the issue.

It was my duty to study the tax structure and to make proper recommendations to the General Assembly, and to the people.

I have done this, but again I do not have the final word, and should not have it. This is a matter for you the people of North Carolina to decide.

I assure you that I do not like any taxes. I especially do not like the thought of even a three per cent tax on food.

But everything we do, in business, in private life, and in public life, must be measured by a proper sense of values.

What is value, what is worthwhile, what is more important in life, is a matter that must be decided by each individual in many ways every day.

It is this sense of values that has led me to the conclusion that a three per cent tax on food is less objectionable than the neglect of full and adequate quality education for all our children.

I have outlined the program, and outlined the way we could have it, and I have decided that I believe the opportunities are worth the price many times over. But the final application of a sense of values is up to you.

We will pay the price only if you want to pay the price.

We will seek the goals and rewards of top quality education only if you want to seek the goals and rewards.

The General Assembly is now considering carefully the various proposals for paying the price.

I would hope you would say to the General Assembly:

First, we want to embark on the programs of quality education for our boys and girls.

Second, we expect to pay for it, but we want you to find the easiest and most equitable means of paying for it.

I hope, in saying these things, you would consider 12 factors, which I have considered, and which the General Assembly is considering:

1. If we are to start our march to put North Carolina in the lead in quality education, we must adopt the Board of Education requested budget.

2. Although money would not achieve quality education, we cannot achieve it without the money requested.

3. Luxuries should be taxed and are taxed. There is presently a state tax of 3% on soft drinks, and a heavy tax on tobacco products, whiskey, beer, wine, by the federal government, and a tax running from 3% to 12% or 15% by the state.

4. An additional tax on tobacco will not provide enough money. An additional tax on soft drinks will not provide enough money. An additional tax on whiskey, beer, wine and other luxuries will not provide enough money. A combination of additional taxes on all of these items will not supply enough money for the minimum job we must do in education.

5. We had a tax on food during the Depression, put there in 1933, which saved the schools. If our fathers could pay this, we at least should not shirk away from it without giving it serious consideration as a means of assuring top quality in our schools today. This tax was repealed during the war, when we had more money that we could spend.

6. In 1933 we had no adequate welfare program, and no free distribution of free food, both of which we now have.

7. The average cost for a sales tax on food would be only $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day, per person.

8. Twenty-six other states, including Georgia, South Carolina and Tennessee have a tax on food.

9. A sales tax has the advantage of growing revenues with a growing population. This makes it most desirable for a school tax. It is not a fair tax unless we have a heavy and graduated income tax, but we do.

10. These tax proposals would give us a solid foundation for years to come, and we would not have to seek patchwork tax legislation, at each session of the legislature. Our schools would have a solid financial foundation on which to grow.

11. I know of no other way to finance our schools, but I have an open mind and will be glad to listen to any proposals.

12. The members of your General Assembly are conscientious people, honestly seeking the best answer to the way to improve our schools and keep North Carolina on the move.

These are the twelve factors I hope you will consider.

These are the items I hope you will consider in applying your sense of values.

I have only proposed it, but whether we do these things or not is up to you.

If North Carolina hesitates, if North Carolina lags behind in the education it gives its children, if North Carolina trembles at advancement, the responsibilities must rest with the adult citizens of this State, but the consequences will be on the heads of our children.

If the people of this State decide that they would prefer to rock along in the schools rather than to assume the costs for increasing educational opportunities, then I will abide by that decision.

But I have confidence the people of the State that pioneered public education are not going to say that.

I trust the answer of the people because I have seen them answer this question of paying for education many times in the past. The State as a whole has voted three times in the last 12 years on state-wide education issues. In 1949, in 1953 and in 1959, the people voted on multi-million dollar bond issues.

Each time the voters spoke loudly and clearly--for education.

I ask you to join me tonight. I ask you to vote yes to quality education. I ask you to vote yes to the children. I ask you to vote yes to the future of North Carolina.

REPORT TO THE PEOPLE BY
GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD

On State-wide Television Network
Originating from Raleigh Studio of WUNC-TV
Thursday, March 23, 1961 -- 8:30 p.m.

Ladies and Gentlemen:

I come before you tonight to talk about the most decisive--the most important issue which has faced the people of North Carolina for many decades.

This issue is vital because our hopes and dreams are founded on the manner, the degree, the quality of education we provide for our boys and girls.

It concerns every citizen of this state.

Let's look at the record and see how our State compares with our sister states in education.

North Carolina ranks 45th among the 50 states in the amount of money we spend on each child going to school. We spend an average of \$240 a year for the education of each of our school children in North Carolina. The average American child has \$369 a year spent on him--or 50 per cent more than in North Carolina.

North Carolina ranks 41st in per capita expenditures of state and local governments for all public education.

North Carolina in the last decade raised the rate of teachers' salaries less than any other state in the Union.

No wonder so many of our better teachers move to other states. No wonder so many teachers leave the classrooms for the business offices. No wonder so few young men and women choose teaching as a profession.

When we consider these figures--last in the Nation in the rate of increase for our teachers in the '50s and 39th in the Nation in teachers' salaries--the request of the State Board of Education seems modest.

It is modest and it is a must.

We pay the brick masons who lay the foundation for the school building more than we do the teachers who lay the foundation for the future.

We pay the carpenter who puts in the doors of the classrooms more than we do the person who opens the doors to the minds of the children who study in those classrooms.

We pay the linotype operator who sets the type for the books more than we do the person who teaches the child how to read those books.

We pay the electrician who lights the classroom more than we pay the teacher who enlightens the minds of the children who study in those classrooms.

This is not to say the brick mason, the carpenter, the electrician and the linotype operator are overpaid. It is evidence that the teachers are underpaid.

Now let's look at the result of our poor support of our children's education.

North Carolina ranks 45th in the per cent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they did not have enough education to qualify even for "buck" privates.

North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the per cent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

North Carolina ranks 48th among the 50 states in the percentage of our adult population who are high school graduates.

North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in the per cent of adults with college diplomas.

North Carolina ranks 45th in per capita income.

Lest someone accuse me of looking only on the dark side, let me point out that North Carolina ranks 8th among the states in the number of school children. That is our greatest asset.

I could go on reciting statistics, but I believe the ones you have just heard will convince any sensible person of the need.

These are the facts, these are the figures that we must weigh when we consider the admittedly unhappy prospect of new taxes. These are the facts that I had to consider before I went before the General Assembly of North Carolina with the special budget message on education. These are the facts your representatives of the General Assembly must weigh in the coming weeks.

These unhappy facts are the facts that every citizen must weigh.

It comes down to a proper sense of values. In other words, what is most valuable to us.

The decision on the future of North Carolina schools is the decision that will determine in large measure the future of our children. And, it is true, that the future of North Carolina will be determined by the children.

That decision is in the hands of you, the adult citizens of North Carolina.

What is this program for better education?

What improvements in educational opportunity may be expected if the State Board of Education's "B" Budget requests are provided?

First, North Carolina teachers' salaries will be made more competitive with those in other states. We should be able to hold in the state, and in the teaching profession, more of our own teacher graduates, especially the more promising graduates. More important, we should be able to attract more and better teachers. In the long run, by increasing the supply of good teachers, we should be able to exercise more choice in the teachers employed, and this would give much better teachers.

Secondly, additional teachers will immediately provide the needed improvements in educational opportunity. Some 1400 additional teachers will be provided to reduce class loads. This will allow more individual attention to each child and thus better instruction. These additional teachers will also provide librarian and guidance counselors, and special teachers for gifted and mentally retarded students. Additional vocational teachers will be provided in agricultural technology, distributive education, new industry operator training, and for the industrial education centers.

More teaching materials will be provided. State appropriations for school libraries will be doubled from 50¢ to \$1.00 per pupil, thus providing more books to improve instruction, the heart of learning. Continuing support for the present program of education by television will give children in even the furthestmost corners of the state a chance to learn from our best teachers--and to learn about subjects not taught in their own local schools.

Improvement will be made in instruction. Improvement in school practices will be promoted by curriculum study and research. Some clerical help for local schools will let teachers get back to teaching instead of making them spend a good part of their day in non-teaching activities.

Teachers will be given improved leadership and supervision on the local level. Better salaries will attract and hold better superintendents, supervisors and principals. More assistant superintendents and supervisors will be employed and their term of employment increased.

More remedial physical defects of children will be corrected. More adequate care will be given to school buildings.

All of these things make up this program for better education for our children.

Now in the last few weeks, you may have heard some talk which is like this letter which I received the other day.

Honorable Terry Sanford
Governor of North Carolina
Raleigh, North Carolina

Dear Governor:

We have three children in school, and we are just as concerned about the kind of education they are getting as you are. I certainly favor your program for the education of our children, but I don't like your tax ideas. I am against your increases in taxes.

Sincerely,

I am against taxes, too.

Now we all agree that taxes are unpleasant.

But I know of few things in this world, though, that don't require a price of some sort.

If we are to have quality education, then one of the basic facts of life dictates that we must pay for it.

I would not be worthy of this office were I not willing to face this fact. I could not dodge the issue.

It was my duty to study the tax structure and to make proper recommendations to the General Assembly, and to the people.

I have done this, but again I do not have the final word, and should not have it. This is a matter for you the people of North Carolina to decide.

I assure you that I do not like any taxes. I especially do not like the thought of even a three per cent tax on food.

But everything we do, in business, in private life, and in public life, must be measured by a proper sense of values.

Now let us look at the cost of better schools and better educational opportunities for our children.

I have proposed an across-the-board sales tax to pay for the program.

I did so only after the most careful and conscientious consideration. I eliminated getting the money for improving the schools from the income tax because the federal government has just about exhausted that source.

I eliminated the property tax because that is the chief and one of the few taxes for local and county governments in paying for the necessary services they provide.

I did not propose the crown tax on soft drinks for the same reason that I did not propose a tax on candy bars, peanuts, or ice cream cones. We already have a three per cent tax on these items.

I did not propose additional taxes on cigarettes. Cigarettes are heavily taxed by the federal government, we tax them at three per cent, and it would not bring in enough money to begin to do the job.

I did propose as large an increase in whiskey taxes as I believe we could collect without driving trade to the woods.

This talk that tax should be put on whiskey and cigarettes and luxuries before we tax food and the other items that we will tax by eliminating the exemptions, is misleading and ignores the fact that whiskey, beer, wine, cigarettes and the "luxuries" are already taxed. It also ignores the fact that these luxury sources will not pay the bill--will not provide enough money to do the job.

Now what about this tax on food. And when we talk of eliminating the sales tax exemptions to raise the funds for better schools we are talking about a tax on food. There is no beating around the bush about it, for \$50 million in the program for education will be derived from the tax on food. This brings us to a very simple decision, and a decision not for me, and not even for the General Assembly. But a decision for you, the people of North Carolina to make. Do we want to pay 30¢ on every \$10.00 worth of food in order to better prepare our children for life--I honestly know of no other way.

I am well aware of the hardships of paying tax on necessary items by those whose income is so low that every penny counts. But I am also aware of the greater hardship placed upon the children of these same people by inadequate school opportunities, and I have been able to devise no way that the poorest can be exempt from a general sales tax.

Welfare payments and the distribution of free food answer the complaint raised in behalf of the poorest among us. I have worked with other state officials to secure for the poor of this state full advantage of the federal food surplus program. This program already is underway--and promises to be successful.

I hope that those who may be tempted to speak out against the food tax will suggest some painless way we can get the money.

I hope they will consider and I hope you will consider that 26 of the 35 states with sales tax, do NOT exempt food.

No one is going to go hungry because of this tax.

But the children of North Carolina will go hungry for quality education if we do not enact this program for better schools.

The decision is just as simple as that. I am not trying to thrust anything upon the people. I am trying to do my duty to serve the future of our children, and I hope you will decide to help pay the cost in order to have the quality of schools the future demands.

The General Assembly is now considering carefully the various proposals for paying the price.

To summarize what I've said:

I would hope you would say to the General Assembly:

First, we want to embark on the program of quality education for our boys and girls.

Second, we expect to pay for it, but we want you to find the most equitable means of paying for it.

I hope, in saying these things, you would consider 10 factors, which I have considered, and which the General Assembly is considering:

1. If we are to start our march to put North Carolina in the lead in quality education, we must adopt the Board of Education's requested budget.

2. Although money will not achieve quality education, we cannot achieve it without the money requested.

3. Luxuries should be taxed and are taxed. There is presently a state tax of 3% on soft drinks, and a heavy tax on tobacco products, whiskey, beer, wine, by the federal government, and a tax running from 3% to 12% or 15% by the state.

4. An additional tax on tobacco will not provide enough money. An additional tax on soft drinks will not provide enough money. An additional tax on whiskey, beer, wine and other luxuries will not provide enough money for the minimum job we must do in education.

5. We had a tax on food during the Depression, put there in 1933, which saved the schools. If our fathers could pay this, we at least should not shirk away from it without giving it serious consideration as a means of assuring top quality in our schools today. This tax was repealed during the war, when we had more money than we could spend.

6. In 1933, we had no adequate welfare program, and no free distribution of free food, both of which we now have.

7. The average cost for a sales tax on food would be only $1\frac{1}{2}$ cents per day, per person.

8. Twenty-six other states, including Georgia, South Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky and Virginia have a tax on food.

9. A sales tax has the advantage of growing revenues with a growing population. This makes it most desirable for a school tax.

10. These tax proposals would give us a solid foundation for years to come, and we would not have to seek patchwork tax legislation at each session of the Legislature. Our schools would have a solid financial foundation on which to grow.

These are the factors I hope you will consider.

These are the items I hope you will consider in applying your sense of values.

I have only proposed it, but whether we do these things or not is up to you.

But I can say this, Dr. James B. Conant, Admiral Hyman G. Rickover, Dr. Jerrold Zacharias, three leading national authorities who have recently visited North Carolina, all consider this one of the best and most significant plans of school improvement in America.

The price of this program is important--even though it is small in comparison with the opportunity, but I want to make it very clear that I am not proposing a program, for taxpayers or anyone else, which does not entail sacrifices. Sacrifices beyond taxes will be required of us all. And by all, I mean citizens, teachers, parents, and children, too.

Do not misunderstand me. When I speak of quality education, I do not for one moment mean easier education. I certainly do not mean softer education in a world in which competition hardens around every child.

More sacrifices will be required of teachers than of taxpayers. Our teachers have demonstrated their loyalty and their devotion to the cause of quality education for many years. They have held firm even though their reward has been very small but now at a time of greater challenge our teachers will be faced with greater demands.

I am calling on the teachers of North Carolina for harder work, for even greater concern for their students, for sacrifice in every way.

Sacrifices will be required of our children, too. I may endanger my cause by saying this, but such sacrifices would mean harder work--maybe even more homework.

That will take the sacrifices home--to the parents. And I am sure there are some parents in North Carolina ready to spend a penny and a half for better schools, who are not so ready to spend an hour and a half a day to help their children with their lessons. I have no reassurances to offer them. Indeed, I say quite frankly that North Carolinians cannot give children in North Carolina any better education than the parents and children will take.

We promise no magic. We can perform no miracles. We can put the better chance into the children's hands. And only in those hands, upheld by parents, can the chance be fulfilled.

As your Governor, I summon you to sacrifices, the least of which may be taxation.

I boldly call you to the cause of the greatness of North Carolina. And that cause requires the sacrifices of taxpayers, teachers, citizens, children, all.

Upon no other basis--at no less cost--can we fulfill the possibilities of North Carolina.

The Battle of the Bulge was not something that GI's went into because they wanted to. They went in it and they fought and they stuck because it was absolutely necessary to do so. The alternative was worse than the fighting, the freezing, the bleeding and even the dying.

There was never a church built in North Carolina that didn't require someone's sacrifice. There was never a foreign mission established for which someone didn't have to pay in discomfort or even suffering.

I am confident of the answer the General Assembly of North Carolina will give to this program. I have faith in the people's decision to support quality education second to none.

DEDICATION ADDRESS BY GOVERNOR TERRY SANFORD AT
WASHINGTON COUNTY UNION SCHOOL

Roper, North Carolina
Thursday, May 4, 1961 -- 7:30 p.m.

It is an honor to join with you in the dedication of Washington County Union School.

One of my last conversations with the late Dr. J. M. Phelps was about this dedication here tonight. Dr. Phelps was proud of this school and he had every right to be. He worked hard for better schools in Washington County and for greater educational opportunities all across North Carolina.

Mrs. Phelps is carrying on the work of Dr. Phelps as your Representative in the General Assembly. From all the reports I have heard, she is carrying on that work capably.

The dedication of this school tonight is as important to the economic future of Washington County and North Carolina as if we were dedicating a new industry with a million dollar payroll.

This school is as important to the rural areas of this county and our state as bumper crops of tobacco, cotton, corn and peanuts.

Washington County Union School is as important to the defense of our nation--if, indeed, it is not more important than the opening of a new military installation.

This is true because education is tied to our every goal. We are all vitally concerned with industrial development, farm income, economic growth, the chance for all to make a better living, and the defense and growth of our state and nation.

But the first prerequisite to all of these things is quality education.

A great English general once said that the victory at Waterloo was won first on the playing fields of Harrow.

If the general was right, and I believe he was, then the victory in this dangerous Cold War with Communism will be won in the classrooms and the workshops of schools like Washington County Union.

In fact, this school is a striking answer to Communist propaganda being spread among the new nations of Africa and Asia. The citizens of Washington County nailed the Communist lie when they laid the foundation stone of this school.

Education is the foundation of the needs and hopes of the nation, in general, and North Carolina in particular. We are all concerned with the peace of the world and we must realize that our urgent duty is to educate the scientists, the statesmen, and the citizenry who will fully understand and who are armed with education to defend and to promote the ideals of our dynamic democracy as it clashes with hostile ideologies.

Education, put in its bleakest terms, is survival. Here, in our part of the free world, we can do no less than seek the best as we prepare to do our part to defend America and the free world.

And education, put in its brightest terms, is life and growth and happiness. All that we seek and hope to accomplish is tied to education.

We in North Carolina are faced with a basic decision. Although it may be a difficult decision in the minds of many, it is nevertheless a simple decision.

We cannot achieve quality education unless we support it with an adequate amount of money.

The question is indeed simple:

"Do we want our children to have quality education second to none? If we do, are we willing to pay for it?"

A substantial majority of the members of the Joint Appropriations Committee of your General Assembly have said in no uncertain terms that North Carolina needs to move, to move now and to move definitely forward to improve the educational opportunities of our children.

The Finance Committees of your State Senate and your State House of Representatives are working to raise the money to pay for improving those educational opportunities.

These members of the General Assembly here tonight and all their colleagues, I am firmly convinced, mean to adopt the educational program.

They need your support. For a democracy, the authority of the state rests always with the people.

On several occasions, I have cited the need for this educational program. I know of no more appropriate occasion than this dedicatory service to repeat that need.

I think that all of us, no matter what our views on a particular tax may be, can agree that there is no greater need in North Carolina today than the improvement of the public schools. There are too many unhappy statistics which cry out that need.

Let's look at the record and see how our state compares with our sister states in education.

North Carolina ranks 45th among the 50 states in the amount of money we spend on each child going to school. We spend an average of \$240 a year for the education of each of our school children in North Carolina. The average American child has \$369 a year spent on him.

North Carolina ranks 40th in the per capita expenditure of state and local governments for local schools.

North Carolina ranks 41st in per capita expenditure of state and local governments for all public education.

North Carolina in the last decade raised the rate of teachers' salaries less than any other state in the Union. Our teachers' salaries were low in 1950 and far below the national average. After ten years, those salaries were appreciably farther below the national average.

North Carolina ranks 41st in pupil-teacher ratio. That means that 40 states give teachers smaller class loads than we require teachers of this state to teach.

Now let's look at some figures with a close correlation to those I have just listed. Let's look at the result of our poor support of our children's education.

North Carolina ranks 39th among the states in the per cent of adults with college diplomas.

North Carolina ranks 41st among the states in the per cent of our population 14 years old and older who are illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 44th among the 50 states in the per cent of adults with less than five years of schooling.

North Carolina ranks 45th in the per cent of men rejected by the Armed Forces because they were illiterate.

North Carolina ranks 47th among the 50 states in the median school years completed by adults (that is, persons 25 years old or older).

North Carolina ranks 48th among the 50 states in the percentage of our adult population who are high school graduates.

Now, let's look at one more brief set of statistics. I rather suspect there is a strong cause-and-effect relationship between the figures I have already listed and these I am about to list.

North Carolina ranks 37th among the states in migration.

North Carolina ranks 43rd in per capita disposable income.

North Carolina ranks 45th in per capita income.

Lest someone accuse me of looking only on the dark side, let me point out that North Carolina ranks 8th among the states in the number of school children. That is our greatest asset.

But we have cultivated our children's minds less well than we have cultivated our tobacco and cotton and peanut acres.

We have given proportionately less attention to the maintenance of schools than we have to the maintenance of wardrobes, our automobiles and our kitchen stoves.

North Carolina is rightly concerned when anyone attempts to lower our tobacco parity of 90 per cent.

Yet we have let our children's educational parity fall to less than 66 per cent.

This school is evidence that North Carolinians recognize our shortcomings in education.

This school is proof that North Carolinians are ready to pay the cost for quality education.

I commend the patrons of Washington County Union School. You are fostering the future of thousands of North Carolinians.

I commend the taxpayers of Washington County. You have invested wisely in building this school.

I thank the members of the General Assembly, past and present, for providing the state funds which will be used here and in other schools of this county and this state.

I congratulate the officials local, county and state, who have helped build this school.

I charge the faculty of Washington County Union School to permit nothing to deter you from the work of teaching and training the future citizens entrusted to your care this year and in the years ahead. I charge Principal Wilkins and I charge all of you teachers to use this beautiful new building and this excellent equipment to development fully each mind of each child of this school.

I challenge the parents of the children who attend this school to require these children to accept the opportunity to learn.

Most of all, I advise the students of Washington County Union School to study diligently. Washington County and the State of North Carolina have invested in your future. Whether that investment is good or bad or mediocre will depend entirely on the work you do here.

APPENDIX B

Interview

TERRY SANFORD INTERVIEW

Monday, August 24, 1970 - 4:00 p.m.

Question: Are these speeches, as were given? And I know these are the press releases, but I am supposed to have as close to what you actually said as possible.

Sanford: Well, I would say that some of them are and some of them aren't; that, basically, I followed these speeches and, looking back at these, I would think that I did. I not only followed this special message to the General Assembly, I wrote it word for word in great secrecy and didn't let anybody in my office see it until it was ready to be released.

So, I even had this typed over in the Mansion. The Goldsboro Education Rally was probably roughed out by me, probably finished off in my office, but there are things in here that make me think that I did most of this and, if I did most of it, I probably more or less followed it.

Occasionally, especially on dedications of buildings and the like, Graham Jones would do something and I would maybe use it and maybe not use it, depend on the importance I attached to it. But more likely, in the thousands of speeches that I delivered, I would say most of them are "off the cuff" from notes that I scribbled in advance.

Question: Were they typed up afterwards?

Sanford: No, very seldom. Some of them were more or less a piece of staff work which meant that I put down the original thought, got back the draft, corrected it, changed it to my liking, and then gave it back to them for the final touch. Some speeches that were released were not at all what I delivered because when I sensed the particular situation somewhere, I figured that this prepared speech wouldn't do. And then when you get into all the pressure of going and traveling and scrambling in the Governor's office, you don't always give real careful attention in advance to every speech. But most of these that you've picked were important and I would guess that I had given very careful attention to all of them in advance and probably put the final editing on all of them. I think so. So, I can't be absolutely honest in my, I

don't mean honest, but factual in my coming on that because I've got no real way of remembering it.

I've read them all very carefully and I could recognize them now, but then you get to the place where you use speeches and then you use part of them in another speech and rewrite them in order to gather, so I would guess that this is basically a good example of what I did in speaking.

Question: Well, I think that I am justified in using these because they are press releases and this is what you wanted the public to see.

Sanford: Yes.

Question: Even if you changed it.

Sanford: And furthermore, no, I would basically follow one of these. You obviously would work into it with something local and probably close up with a little more dramatic leaf of support than otherwise, that is, a speech like the education rally at Goldsboro. I might very well have gotten into the thing with more about Aycock, although I see I have written in some of that. And I probably did end up with a little more of writing down face-to-face why they ought to vote with us.

Question: Well, now could you briefly go over this with me? I have as for your campaign, of course, Reagan is used; I'm using the source from Reagan and the source in your public speeches by memory, Mitchell, of the biography of your life. In these two (2) sources I have found that this campaign was conducted by using speeches, television, public, radio, that you invited the legislators to breakfast on different occasions as a technique, and that you sent out postcards and this type thing for the people to send back to you as being the basic technique of this campaign of what you used. Have I left anything out?

Sanford: Have you read the chapter in my book?

But what about the people on this thing? I would think that you have gotten about all of it. I haven't read the book in a good while.

But, I would think so.

Question: Just to be sure, there are several other questions here. Could you give me some insight as to, first, your educational philosophy, something about this, and, second, some of the people who have influenced you in your life?

Sanford: Of course, your philosophy would go across a great many things and it would be awfully hard just to summarize it. But I think basically as I saw it in 1960, and I spell this out in the "People Book" a little bit more. I think basically I saw our problem as not having a bad school system for the people we've reached, but that we weren't reaching enough people. And if I had a philosophy that could be summed up in a sentence or two, I was trying to redefine Governor Aycock's call for "universal education" by which he meant a school-house of sorts in every community. And by which I wanted to define it as meaning that we didn't miss any children and that we didn't overlook any talents that any of the children had.

This is where the word "quality," I suppose, cropped up. We wanted the education teaching fundamentals in the early grades to be done in a way that, whatever the cause, they didn't miss any child. I think one of the causes, one of the more obvious causes, was the size of the classroom. Another was the technique of teaching, and another was just the lack of any real interest in doing anything but an ordinary job and those who could take it, great, and those who couldn't, well, everybody's not supposed to be able to learn anyhow. And when they got into high school it was more complex because we got into the curriculum. Some courses would appeal to some students and some would not appeal to the brightest students or the slowest students. So, we had to define the kind of curriculum, or try to, that would challenge the brightest student and that would interest the dullest student.

I don't mean that I did all of this, but this is what we were trying to shape in the school system with a philosophy that reached out to every child. So that, essentially, we were trying to redefine "universal" in the light of 1960.

Question: Were there any classical philosophers that influenced you?

Sanford: Well, I really took my title from Sandburg. I liked Sandburg for a number of reasons. One, he was from North Carolina. In his latter years when he chose a

place, I had always liked his writing and had most of his books. I picked up this because the quotation in Sandburg, which you've got verbatim and I won't attempt to paraphrase it, in which he says that really what a civilization is all about is about the people; that the people shape history, and I think that is true and what I was trying to say is, "let's not neglect the people in all of our other undertakings." I think that was a part of the general philosophy I had toward government, and have, and that is, that we sometimes get so taken up with programs that we forget the real objectives.

I thought that our employment programs and even education programs and welfare programs were so taken up with carrying out the program that we forgot that the objective was to improve the lives of people and so this is why I picked up Carl Sandburg's statement out of a particularly appropriate verse, in which he asked the question, "And yes, but what about the people?"

Question: This is something that I haven't been able to find out in your speech activities. I know it mentions that when you were eleven, you carried the poster in this parade and that when you were in Chapel Hill, that you were in the student legislature. But, I definitely need to know your college or high school activities in speech, if you have had public speaking courses.

Sanford: Since I have never had an opportunity to fully explain the poster and the parade, I think I should. In those days, of course, that kind of a rally was a big thing and people came out to them because you didn't have things that took their interest away. You obviously didn't have television. At any rate, when you had a parade, and a rally, and a speaking with the nominee for Governor, in that case Governor Gardner, it was a big thing. So, the sheriff had a lot of signs made up just for fun you know, and then the boys came by and picked them up, one to carry, and they were supposed to be funny and mine said, "Me and Ma is for Al." I have had two (2) or three (3) writers that tried to correct their grammar. Well, I didn't even write the sign. I just picked it. The Sheriff had had it written and he was trying to be funny. Anyhow, I cited that more than anything else to indicate my early interest in politics. As a matter of fact, I never was really consumed with the idea of a political career until much later in

life and much later in my school career and I never did belong to any debating team and I never did go out and make any speeches. I probably talked to the Rotary Club once or twice when I was trying to get, and did get started, a "fresh air camp," a camp for underprivileged children, or children without any money to learn to swim. I was running a little camp for the Red Cross, or under the sponsorship of the Red Cross, and I would say that in talking to a little group like that this was about the extent of my public speaking and that would have been limited to three (3) or four (4) times. I didn't make any speeches in school particularly. I was in the legislature, but you know mostly you didn't do a whole lot of speaking. It was mostly committee work. I did take a course under Mr. Olsen in public speaking probably my junior or senior year. I probably got about a "B" in it, I'm not sure. But, I didn't do badly. I was interested in it. I think I was virtually out of college before I ever made any speeches to amount to anything.

I ran the Boys' State program while I was in Law School and several years later and I would make speeches to them that were not really designed as speeches, but telling them what I expected and sometimes "giving them the devil" about something. I really don't remember going out to a civic club to make a formal speech about an assigned subject until I was out of Law School. I think I made a speech at Chapel Hill to some kind of civic organization and then when I came down to Fayetteville, I was invited over to Lumberton to make a speech to a civic club and I remember being "scared to death" because I had never really made any speeches.

Question: Did you have training in formal argumentation in Law School?

Sanford: No, but I think in Law School the great advantage of a legal education is that it teaches logical thought. The truth of the matter is that it is logic, or at least the law should be logic, and I think that you do get the kind of training that causes you to be logical in your approach to defining a problem and seeking a solution. And whether that spills over into writing and speeches, I don't know.

I then wrote a good many speeches for Kerr Scott when he was running for the Senate. And for that reason, I suppose, I felt inclined to write my own to whatever extent time permitted. And I probably did

about as much of that as anybody other than Adlai Stevenson, who always wrote every word of every speech and, therefore, didn't have time to campaign.

Question: I think I've covered most of my questions, but is there anything about your speechmaking that I have not covered that you would like to tell me about?

Sanford: Well, no. I never have considered myself a particularly powerful speaker. I can't think of his name right now, but the town hall director back in about 1958 or '59. I'd been out campaigning and making speeches and they sounded more like sermons, so I did go up, through a newspaper friend, and have a session with him, which lasted only about an hour or so. And for a very modest fee, maybe a \$100 fee or something, to listen to a couple of speeches and to give me some advice and I think it was good advice and well worth the trip and well worth the modest fee. Maybe I should have done it here, and I overlooked another course I took that I'll drop back to in a minute because I really shouldn't have overlooked that. But, at any rate, I did talk to him and his advice, in effect, was quit preaching a sermon, or quit making an address, and talk to the people. When you look down here and talk to these people, you get through to them, but when you attempt to deliver an address, it really doesn't reach them. It puts them to sleep. And so I remembered that. I got to where I was talking to individuals whether I was reading a speech or not, or following a manuscript. I attempted just to talk to the people. Now you can't do that always, and sometimes you have to be a little more formal, but if you don't forget that's what you're there for, I think it makes a better speech.

I did, when I came back after the war and I believe after I was out of Law School and working at the Institute of Government for Earl Wynn at Chapel Hill, communications school, have a course in speech that was related, I think, to television and radio and you had a good deal of work in enunciation and the art of speaking, maybe as distinguishing the structure of it. This was the voice part of speaking, not the writing of speeches or the construction of speeches, that Bill Olsen's class was partially concerned with and I think I audited that course. I don't believe with whatever provision you made for auditing, I wasn't in school. I was working. But I took it and I think I got a great deal of benefit from that. I remember one piece of critique that

he put on something I had done which he said, "Don't try to get rid of your Southern accent; that it adds to the charm of the speech and you shouldn't try to come with a radio voice so it would fit any part of the nation, because you're not a radio announcer." He also said, "The kind of speaking you would expect to do should have the Southern characteristic in it." So, I have never really tried to get rid of that, I'm glad to say.

Question: I had some other questions. Could you tell me, this is off the record and just something I have to find out, these statistics that were used in these, were these special, found out by your office, or did you have these researched?

Sanford: I think that you gather this kind of thing over a period of time and for several years I had kept a pretty good clipping file on subjects that pertained to state government, including education. Furthermore, this type of thing would be published by the North Carolina Education Association and other organizations.

Question: I have to verify them.

Sanford: I'm not above making up statistics. Well, I remember a particular exercise, you don't have the speech, but I think it was one of the more significant speeches that I made. It was my first probing to see what reaction I would get to the concept that ultimately became the Good Neighbor Counsel. So, just arbitrarily, I don't know of any way, mathematically, that you could computerize this information to come up with a figure. But, I contended that if the Negro were making the per capita income of North Carolinians, that we would drop from 44th to 32nd and so, I said that but, of course, nobody could contest it and it wasn't too far out. But, it was a ball park statistic. Most of the time we used statistics that somebody else had provided for us.

Question: I think this covers really everything I had to say, unless you have something you would like to add.

Sanford: Actually, I came into the political active part of my career when television was just coming in, in Scott's campaign in '54 for the Senate, which I managed. It was the first time television had even been used. And, I remember we were always worried about Scott following a script, not that he wasn't

a great speaker, but he was apt to get off on something and tell somebody what he thought about them. In a campaign, that is not very good. Anyhow, we kept a little girl up all night long writing out on a roll of market paper. You know, a meat market, this wide paper. We wrote his speech out because we didn't have a teleprompter, that was maybe when one of the first teleprompters used, and so we sat up there and rolled that thing down behind the camera and he pretty well followed that script and I had no real experience with television in that campaign, except to observe that. And then when I started moving into the thing, about '58, television was more widely used, but still not for politicians or political campaigners, or government much.

I don't know what I started out to say, except to say that even talking to television, you had to remember that you were talking to people and it was a different technique because you were not talking to an audience, where you had to reach the person in the back row. And so many people with political campaigns to run were sitting down at a desk or standing making a speech. Nobody wants anybody in their living room making a speech. So, you had to obviously bear in mind that you were not making a speech, but you were talking to somebody. I was saying, you know, depending if I were trying to urge the women to join in my campaign for schools, when I looked at that lens, I tried to imagine it was a pretty girl and attempted to keep it on a personal person-to-person basis, which I think is a good part of public speaking.